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The Shape of Things

TENSIONS WITHIN THE SECURITY COUNCIL reflect the combat fatigue from which all the nations of the world are suffering, not least the Soviet Union. Gromyko's latest demand that the Iranian issue be completely dropped from the agenda indicates that Russia will continue to make it difficult for the U. N. to establish its prestige. The demand is in effect a restatement of the Soviet representative's first insistence that Iran be barred from the Council table. To accept it would be to confess that the decisions of the Council had been a mistake from the beginning. Russia would in fact be exercising an ex post facto veto. On the other hand, the situation has changed since Byrnes' resolution suspending the discussion of Iran until May 6. An agreement has now been entered into between the Soviet Union and Iran; an arrangement has been worked out on oil; the issue of Azerbaijan autonomy has been declared an internal matter. In all these questions the statements of the Iranian government and the Soviet Union coincide—a situation which did not prevail when Gromyko first made his bid to the Council. The delegates are therefore in a position to decide independently—and not on the terms of Mr. Gromyko—that the Iranian matter should be dropped. The resentment they may feel at Russia's intransigence should not deflect them from a reasonable course of action. What is needed now is that the Council, including Mr. Gromyko, get down to the new business on the agenda. Matters of procedure which loomed large in the Iranian discussion should not occupy much time after the careful study given them by a committee of experts. Of greater importance, both to the immediate prestige of the United Nations and to the ultimate peace of the world, is the case of Franco Spain which Poland has raised. We reprint in this issue of *The Nation* the main sections of a memorandum on Spain submitted to the Security Council by a number of representative liberal organizations. Decision on Europe's last fascist state must not be side-stepped again.

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THE GREEK ELECTIONS WOULD CERTAINLY have been postponed but for the insistence of the British Foreign Secretary that they be held on March 31, but we have yet to learn what Mr. Bevin thinks of their outcome. Perhaps this is because he finds the results embarrassing, as well he might. Indeed, even Mr. Bevin might blush at the idea that the first post-war election in Europe held under the patronage of a British Labor government produced a majority for an extremely conservative monarchist party with a large admixture of fascist elements. Of course, it was not a real majority, for despite strong pressure half the electors responded to the appeals of the left and center parties—not just the Communists—and refrained from voting. But since Mr. Bevin has shut his eyes to the fraud and terror, vividly described by Hal Lehrman on another page, which occasioned this boycott, he is not in a very good position to question the representative character of the monarchist gang now forming the Greek government. Yet if he gives this ministry a free rein he will be rightly held responsible for every outrage it commits. However, we are not concerned with helping Mr. Bevin out of the pit he has dug for himself but with the fate of the Greek people, who after all the agony of the last few years are threatened with the horror of a new civil war. That is almost certain to break out if the monarchists, on the basis of their "triumph," secured by a total vote of not more than 25 per cent of the electorate, insist on trying to bring the Greek king back.

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A SERIES OF WARNINGS NOT ONLY ABROAD but at home indicate that the war against Nazism and fascism is far from being over. The most sensational was the news from Frankfort that some 800 Germans were arrested in raids in the British and American zones of the Reich and Austria designed to crush "the first major attempt to revive Nazi ideologies." C. L. Sulzberger in recent dispatches to the New York *Times* from Germany indicates not only a serious lag in the "denazification" of Germany but the need to weed out American officers whose ignorance and outlook make them instinctively friendly to the covert remnants of Hitler's gang. Homer Bigart reported to the New York *Herald Tribune* from Essen on March 31 that a British control officer had found a half-million-dollar cache of forbidden tools for making arms. Tania Long reported to the New York *Times* that a German official in Bavaria admitted to her

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that Nazis "still control the food and clothing of the population." At the same time Léon Degrelle, leader of the Belgian Rexists, is directing fascist underground propaganda in Belgium, while officially interned in Spain. The powerful German colony in southern Argentina, according to Frank L. Kluckhohn in the New York *Times* of April 5, has suddenly turned "Swiss." It is more than coincidence that Nazi hopes revive as tension grows between the U. S. S. R. on the one hand and the United States and Britain on the other.

*

GERMANY'S FRIENDS IN WASHINGTON HAVE chosen this moment to launch an attack on the Kilgore committee. Senator Harley M. Kilgore, Democrat, of West Virginia, has done more than anyone else in Washington to unearth and publish the danger of a Nazi revival. Kilgore is chairman of a Senate Military Affairs subcommittee which started out to deal with the technological problems involved in war mobilization and soon found, as other committees had found before, that the trail led to German-influenced cartels which restricted scientific progress in this country. With the defeat of Germany and the uncovering of cartel records there, the committee has obtained and analyzed evidence of Germany's secret international industrial alliances, of the part they played in economic warfare during and before World War II, and of the part they may play in undermining the Potsdam program for wiping out the military-industrial potential of the Reich. Three isolationists on the Republican steering committee of the Senate—Wherry of Nebraska, Brooks of Illinois, and Bridges of New Hampshire—have issued a report urging rejection of the subcommittee's request for a $57,000 appropriation and charging significantly that it "has engaged in activities foreign to its authority, such as investigating prewar cartels, monopolies, and Nazi espionage." Unless there is a kickback from progressive organizations, the Kilgore committee may be crippled, its crucially important work ended when it is most needed.

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IT IS A PITY POPE PIUS IN HIS APPEAL FOR world aid to combat famine did not feel it politic to focus attention where it belongs—on the failure of the American government to take steps at all commensurate with the emergency. The two countries at which the Pope seemed to aim, Brazil and Argentina, cannot be of major assistance, the former because it never has been an important supplier of cereals, the latter because it has been hit by drought. It is the United States which is failing the world, not because the American people are ungenerous but because greedy business-as-usual food interests and an equally rapacious farm bloc run the Department of Agriculture and its weak head, Secretary

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Clinton P. Anderson. They oppose return of rationing and mandatory restrictions and set-aside orders. We face not a 120-day crisis but at least two years of food stringency, and we appeal to the President to appoint someone like Henry Morgenthau as a food expediter with plenary power to mobolize both food and transportation to fight famine. The Morgenthau proposal for using certificates to bring wheat out of hoarding was the first really ingenious and constructive contribution to the crisis, and has been adopted. Perhaps he has more ideas like it.

*

THESE ARE DIFFICULT DAYS FOR THE ARMY; it gets itself all prettied up for the delicate wooing of recruits and peace-time support, and then at the critical moment always manages to turn up with its tunic unbuttoned. It appoints a board to "investigate" the caste system and then holds closed hearings so that witnesses "will speak more freely." While this board solemnly sifts charges of discrimination between the ranks, a nearby quartermaster depot sells off surplus nylons to officers only. The army proudly announces a standard uniform for both officers and men, and imposes an arbitrary censorship on one of the greatest morale instruments of the war—the G. I. gripe column of *Stars and Stripes*. The prime relapse, however, and the ugliest, has been the conduct of the Lichfield prison camp courts martial. When the Lichfield atrocities were first brought to light, after flourishing without interference during the war, the army righteously arrested a handful of enlisted guards and two lieutenants. A month or so later it was caught in the act of decorating and promoting the Lichfield commandant, Colonel Kilian, despite the fact that Kilian was obviously involved in and almost certainly responsible for his camp's sadistic activities. Kilian and the rest of the Lichfield brass were finally indicted only after the whole affair had been thoroughly kicked around in the press. And the trial of the first enlisted defendant had hardly concluded when a member of the prosecution resigned after charging that the proceedings were being rigged to whitewash the high officers. The army, and the navy too, would do well to concentrate less on surface reforms and more on rooting out the hidebound military mentality that vitiates every step toward a real reconstruction.

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A CAREFUL SCRUTINY OF THE ROSY REPORT on economic conditions submitted by Reconversion Director Snyder reveals a less objective appraisal than we have a right to expect from so responsible a source. Mr. Snyder points out that our civilian production is running at the unprecedented rate of $150,000,000,000 a year. But an estimate of production in terms of dollar value is obviously deceptive in view of the long-continued rise in prices. A far more accurate guide to the country's economic health is provided by the Federal Reserve Board's index of industrial production. This shows that current output, while far above the 1935-39 level, is actually no greater than that of 1941, the last pre-war year. In some commodities the present level of production is remarkably high. The output of food, except for fats and sugar, is above pre-war records; paper production and coal output, prior to the present strike, were at an all-time high; more automobile tires are being made than ever before. Many other kinds of consumer goods are being turned out in record quantities. But as everyone knows, these achievements are largely offset by severe shortages, especially in textiles, lumber, and building supplies. Mr. Snyder's over-all picture may have been influenced, as his political enemies have charged, by the fact that 1946 is an election year; but the sudden rise in the stock market which followed his report suggests that speculators have been influenced even more by the conservative press's imaginative picture of the hypothetical terrors of government control during reconversion.

Anglo-French Relations

FEELERS recently put out on both sides of the English Channel for a strengthening of ties between France and Britain appear to have become badly snarled in French politics. Anxious as most Britons and a majority of Frenchmen are for a renewal of the entente between the two countries, the basic problem of what to do about Germany still divides them. On March 24, in a speech at Strasbourg, French President Félix Gouin hinted that a modification of the rigid policy of German dismemberment fostered by his predecessor, De Gaulle, was in the cards. Provided that the occupation of Germany was prolonged and international control and administration of the Ruhr established, he suggested that French insistence on a separate Rhineland state might be abandoned. In subsequent speeches and interviews he cautiously reiterated these ideas and expressed the hope that the Franco-Soviet pact would soon be buttressed by an alliance with Britain.

London's response was immediate and hearty. It was authoritatively indicated that Britain also was prepared to compromise on its German policy, at least to the extent of supporting international economic control of the Ruhr and Rhineland. And in reply to a question in the Commons Foreign Secretary Bevin declared that M. Gouin's statement gave the British government, which had always been anxious for "the closest possible friendship with France," an opportunity for fresh consideration of a treaty "which would provide further security against renewed German aggression."

But even before Mr. Bevin had spoken, prospects for

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an early Anglo-French rapprochement had faded. M. Gouin, who had voiced the sentiments of his Socialist Party rather than those of his Cabinet, found himself under a cross-fire from right and left. M. Bidault, Foreign Minister and leader of the Mouvement Républicain Populaire, in general favors a "Western" foreign policy for France. But he also regards himself as trustee for the Gaullist solution of the German problem, and hence he and his party protested vigorously against any weakening of the French demand for the permanent removal of the Rhineland from the control of Berlin. The Communists, the third party included in the French national government, are for the time being at least supporting Bidault, not because Russia necessarily is anxious for the separation of the Rhineland from Germany—German Communists stand for unity of the Reich—but because of Moscow's haunting fear of a "Western bloc." Hence the anxiety of the French Communists to exploit any barrier to closer Anglo-French relations. Their tactics, we can be sure, would be reversed should British opposition to a Rhenish state be withdrawn, for such a state, integrated economically with Western Europe, would enhance the prospects of the kind of bloc that the Soviets are intent on thwarting.

As long as the French "westerners"—the Socialists and the M. R. P.—are thus split, the Communist "easterners" can exercise a veto. And it must be remembered, as Mr. Del Vayo points out in his article on page 423, on many other questions, particularly in the domestic field, Communists and Socialists share similar views. Hence while political power is fairly evenly divided between these three major parties, French foreign policy in general is likely to be negative rather than positive, while the problem of Anglo-French relations, in particular, can hardly be dealt with in a satisfactory manner.

Yet close political and economic ties between Britain and France are essential if Western Europe is not to be squeezed between the two great powers that now flank it. France has definitely lost its pre-war status in world affairs; Britain has been relatively weakened and is barely clinging to its position as one of the Big Three. Both countries have been impoverished by the war; both see their empires slipping from them. If their decline is to be checked—and we believe that their reduction in influence will make the world both poorer and less secure—they need to seek a new source of strength. They cannot find this in efforts to revive and consolidate their imperialist possessions; that way out must mean an ever-increasing drain on their diminished resources. But they might find a prescription for recovery in a socialist integration of their economies. If the two countries could remove the tariff fences between their gardens and plan together for their cultivation, they could provide that broadened market which is essential for the success of modern industrial techniques. More than that, this kind of association would give them both better insurance against the revival of German aggression, particularly if Belgium and Holland joined with them, than any scheme to dismember the Reich.

Would such a combination, as the Soviets believe, prove a threat to Russian security? We do not think so. Anglo-Russian friction has arisen largely because the security zones of the two nations have overlapped. If Britain were less concerned about the maintenance of its imperial economic bases, if its hopes for prosperity were bound to Western Europe rather than scattered around the globe, there would be decreased danger of Anglo-Russian clashes. Unless Moscow is determined to extend the Soviet sphere of influence to the Atlantic Ocean—an undertaking fraught with peril to peace—its opposition to any form of Western association seems to us singularly short-sighted.

The Church Belligerent

IN A curiously ominous address to the Catholic Institute of the Press recently Monsignor Fulton J. Sheen twice "scooped" the press of the country. He revealed first that a Soviet agent had been "picked up" at a Congressional committee meeting and, second, that the death of an American naval attaché in Poland suggested foul play. The press was not alone in being beaten to the draw by the Monsignor. So were the FBI, the chief of the Justice Department's criminal division, and even the House Committee on Un-American Activities, which has been curiously reticent about what it would surely regard as a supremely happy development. All three expressed surprise at the report concerning the Soviet agent, and one official indicated politely but definitely that the gentleman of the cloth knew not whereof he spoke.

Monsignor Sheen merely cited these bits of "news" to support his thesis that the world is being divided into two camps, "the comradeship of anti-Christ and the brotherhood of Christ." "Whether swords will have to be unsheathed," he added, "we know not; whether blood will have to be shed we know not."

We know not, either; nor do we know exactly who belongs in which camp. But we do know that such entries into the field of politics as Monsignor Sheen's speech and the incendiary campaign which the Knights of Columbus are waging as "Christian Americans" in behalf of "Christian Spain" are producing a division among Christians which the Monsignor can hardly desire and the world can hardly afford.

Within a week two powerful Protestant voices have been raised against the political maneuvering of the Roman Catholic church. Methodist Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam, affirming his own readiness "to protect the

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religious liberty" of Catholics, attacked the church for being itself "a grave threat to political and religious freedom." At the same time a British Methodist leader, Professor A. Victor Murray, addressing an assembly of the Free Church Council in London, warned against the "irresponsible influence of an internationally organized society, with its headquarters in a foreign country—in this way exactly parallel to communism."

The so-called "Free Churches" constitute a powerful group, including all Protestant faiths outside the established Church of England, and Professor Murray's remarks may be expected to carry far. They are specific, dealing with such matters as the blessing bestowed by the Pope on Mussolini's expedition to Ethiopia, the donation of high church dignitaries to Franco's rebellion, and the Vatican's divisive activities in Poland today. Bishop Oxnam's criticism was equally forthright, stressing "Catholic pressures on newspapers, radio, and other sources of public information" and "practices that are political and designed to secure secular privileges."

In reply to these charges the *Pilot,* organ of the Boston Archdiocese, asserts that at the heart of Bishop Oxnam's "objections to the Catholic church is his unwillingness to acknowledge the divinity of Christ." Not being theologians ourselves, we are willing to take at face value the Bishop's word that the core of his argument is what he says it is—a simple admonition to the Roman Catholic church "to be a church and not attempt to be a church and state." The combination has been tried in the past and produced nothing but misery.

Political Patterns

THANKS to the respective national committees of the two major parties, the political air is beginning to clear. Through the fog of coalitions and intra-party rebellions the pattern that has become a tradition since 1928 emerges again: a Democratic Party essentially liberal despite the millstone of its Southern primitives versus a Republican Party essentially primitive despite the prodding of its Western liberals.

The Republicans set their course when their national committee, without serious resistance, picked as its chairman B. Carroll Reece, Representative from Tennessee, Old Guard wheelhorse, and candidate of the Ohio machine run by Bricker and Taft. Reece's choice appeared to be a thoroughly calculated blow at the Stassen faction, which will now have to crusade for One World under the party leadership of a man who voted against the establishment of Selective Service, against Lend-Lease, and for retention of the embargo even after the war had started; a man who in a quarter-century of Congressional service achieved a maximum of obscurity and a minimum of independence.

In view of the increasingly open display of affection between Republican Congressmen and their Southern colleagues across the party aisle, it is incidentally interesting to note that the G. O. P. has gone to Tennessee for its new chairman. Southern Republicans up to now have been odd fish in the party, stepchildren who never aspired to election except in freakish Republican pockets like Reece's district. They are usually "kept" by this or that party boss for trading purposes at the national conventions. The elevation of a Southerner to the party chairmanship just at this time is quite possibly geared to the hope that the coalition politics now on display in Congress may one day destroy the Solid South and open up a dazzling vista of Republican Representatives from Alabama, Mississippi, Arkansas and so forth.

Among the Democrats a similar polarization has been taking place within the party. The leadership, confronted with rebellion by the Southern coalitionists, has accepted the challenge. Some weeks ago Chairman Hannegan quietly arranged the formation of a bloc in Congress, headed by Representative Gore of Tennessee, to run interference for the Administration program and stand up to every attack, whether from Republicans or party renegades. This move, not conspicuously successful, was followed by a speech in which the normally non-ideological Hannegan bitterly attacked "dissenting Democrats" and "economic wreckers." Next came Secretary Wallace's well-intentioned but peculiarly inept proposal to purge the dissenters, and at the Jackson Day Dinner the President himself pleaded for "party responsibilty." The *Democratic Digest,* an official party organ, went so far as to invite readers to let Representatives who voted for the Case bill—107 Democrats among them—understand that theirs "was a vote against the American people." And, above all, the Democratic high command unofficially but definitely gave its blessing to the C. I. O.'s projected drive to organize Southern labor—a campaign which, if successful, will at the same time revolutionize Southern politics.

The reaction of the Southerners in Congress has been natural, vociferous, and futile. A committee of fifty-five was formed to demand an apology from Hannegan for the explosive item in the *Democratic Digest.* All they have received so far is a disavowal of responsibility, but whether they get their apology is of small consequence. The real purpose of the caucus is to force a showdown on their status in the party as against the P. A. C. The group is planning a series of representations to the leadership on the "effort by the C. I. O.-P. A. C. to take over the party organization." They may regret forcing the issue. Chairman Hannegan knows that President Roosevelt would have won all four of his campaigns without a single electoral ballot from the South, but not without the liberal-labor vote in the key states of the North. And Hannegan is concerned with votes, not abstractions.

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Atomic Report: Second Reading

BY I. F. STONE

Washington, April 7

IN LAST week's letter I called attention to certain dangerous aspects of the Lilienthal report on the international control of atomic energy. I dealt at that time almost entirely with the introduction. This introduction was written by Dean Acheson, General Groves, and the three other members of the State Department committee of five for whom Lilienthal and his associates acted as a board of consultants. The nature of the hedging in the committee introduction turned the plan offered by the Lilienthal board into a rather one-sided proposal under which other nations were to hand over control of their uranium resources to an international body in return for a promissory note with an implied escape clause from the United States. The promissory note obligated us at some time in the future to hand over the secret of the atomic bomb to the new authority and to cease our own production of bombs—if Congress did not change its mind about the matter when that time came.

I have since reread the entire document, and I want to make it clear that, far from being opposed, I am heartily in favor of its central idea—the idea that world safety lies in international control of the production of fissionable materials. There is much that is creative and intellectually stirring in the way Lilienthal and his colleagues have tackled the key problem of our time. They have provided a blueprint which must be the focal point of progressive education on the subject. But on rereading the report I was again impressed by the fact that its immediate dangers, unless recognized, stressed, and corrected, may outweigh its long-range virtues.

It would be a mistake to assume that these dangers exist only in the hedging of the introduction by the State Department committee of five. It is true that it is the introduction which insists on the continued manufacture of atom bombs; the body of the report is silent on this matter. But what I regard as the first obstacle to acceptance of this plan is to be found in the report as well as in the introduction. The obstacle is that we are asking other nations to hand over control of their uranium deposits well in advance of our handing over the secret of the atomic bomb to the new international authority. The Lilienthal board recognized this difficulty when it said on page 70 of its report that "the sequence, the ordering, and the timing of these steps"—that is, the steps by which we make our knowledge of atomic energy and the bomb available to the proposed atomic development authority—"may be decisive for the acceptability of the international controls."

But the Lilienthal board, like the top committee of five, also asks an immediate quid for a distant quo. The Lilienthal board said it was "convinced that the first major activities of the authority must be directed to obtaining cognizance and control" of the raw-materials situation. "Cognizance," as is evident a few sentences farther on (page 71), means making a geological survey, and the board reemphasized the point when it said (page 72) that "the control of raw materials is an essential prerequisite for all further progress, and it is the first job that the authority must undertake." But the board, too, leaves the secret of the atomic bomb to be handed over last. The Lilienthal report, no doubt in an effort to placate domestic opinion, puts into words the very thought that will alarm foreign opinion. It is that since we have the only plants for making atomic bombs, "should there be a breakdown in the plan at any time during the transition, we shall be in a favorable position with regard to atomic weapons." But if other countries fulfil their part of the bargain by handing over their uranium deposits to the new authority, might not such a "breakdown" be an unwillingness on the part of the United States to deliver the atom-bomb secret as its part of the bargain? The Lilienthal board showed its awareness of this fear when it said (page 75), "A too cautious release of information to the atomic development authority might in fact have the effect of preventing it from ever coming to life." It is hard to imagine Moscow opening Russia to an international geological survey and handing over control of its uranium to a new international body on the promise that some years hence the United States—unless it changed its mind—would reciprocate by giving the atomic development authority the secret of the atomic bomb. It is on this question of timing of the disclosures that the whole fight may be lost, and it is on this question that attention must be focused.

I repeat: it is with no intention to disparage the central idea put forward by Lilienthal and his colleagues that I call attention to these difficulties. Unless they are faced and solved, there is little chance that the central idea itself will be adopted. I ask the skeptical to go back and read *The Nation's* atomic-bomb supplement of December 22 last and see for themselves how well the current situation was foreshadowed by Walter Millis of the New York *Herald Tribune*, who made then much the same point I am making now. Were the positions of the United States and the Soviet Union reversed, we would regard the Lilienthal proposal with suspicion.

This brings me to another difficulty with which we

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must grapple if we wish to prevent an atomic-bomb race and see an international authority take over the production of all fissionable material. Lilienthal and his colleagues were most admirable when they boldly faced what they called the problem of "strategic balance" in the location of the production facilities to be built by the new international authority. The board recognized that other nations which fear our atomic-energy and bomb plants can develop a greater sense of security only as the atomic development authority locates similar dangerous operations within their borders—for should war break out each nation would at once seize the atomic facilities on its territory. It is perhaps this crucial issue of where the authority shall build its plants that leads the board to suggest that some integral organ of the United Nations, "perhaps the Security Council itself," serve as "overseeing body" for the atomic authority. Again, it is neither from defeatism nor pessimism that I suggest that the problem of winning acceptance for the atomic development authority is inseparable from the problem of creating confidence in the U. N., confidence on Moscow's part that on so vital a question the U. N. can be relied upon to be more than an Anglo-American instrument in which the Soviet Union is invariably outvoted.

If Roosevelt Had Lived

BY HAROLD J. LASKI

Chairman of the British Labor Party

London, April 5

NOTHING that has occurred in the year since Franklin Roosevelt died in any way mitigates our sense of loss or abridges our conviction that he was a very great President. We are beginning to see—in the perspective that death a little mysteriously seems able to make more clear and more decisive—that he brought to his high task special qualities which have since been absent from both the international and the national scene. Particularly, I think, we miss three compelling characteristics. He had the wisdom, born of a unique experience, which enabled him to plan the long campaign rather than concentrate upon the immediate battle. He had in the second place a power, unequaled I believe in any other President, to arrest the interest of ordinary people in America in the problems we confronted. He knew in the third place the secret of that alchemy which held the progressive and the traditional forces in an equilibrium giving proper emphasis to the things they had in common rather than the things by which they were divided. On the plane of international relationships his death has cost us dear. Admit, as I should admit, that some of the agreements he made both at Teheran and Yalta were lacking in that precision which is so essential in diplomatic agreements. Admit that secret understandings were arrived at, like that upon atomic energy, which were unpardonable within the framework of the admittedly desirable unity of the three major powers. It still remains true that his capacity to see the great issue in a great way stands head and shoulders above that of his colleagues and advisers.

Had he lived, I find it hard to believe that the monstrous folly of the Potsdam view of Germany's future would have emerged to haunt us as a grim specter over the next years. Had he lived, I am confident that the distrust between the Anglo-Saxon powers and Soviet Russia would never have been permitted to assume its present and unnecessary proportions, nor would he have accepted the slow reintegration of Italy into the comity of nations. He knew too well the important contribution the working class of northern Italy had made to the overthrow of Fascism to have left its people so uncertain of their future as to lose the drive to democratic resurgence felt in the first six months of liberation.

I venture also to believe that he would never have allowed the problems connected with atomic power to become a source of poison in the international body politic. He had imagination enough to understand that the central task of our time is to make the age of atomic power the age in which the basis of the world government it implies could begin to be laid. One can almost hear that magic voice saying that this discovery cannot be left to become a new and deadly weapon of power politics. I think he would have seen that its effects were far too overwhelming for the vested interests of militarism to have any vital say in the decisions about its use.

Even if one admits that the grim effort of this war meant inevitably fatigue and the passion for a return to old routines affectionately remembered, the basis upon which malignant men build their hopes of safeguarding privilege against the claims of the future, I think that Franklin Roosevelt could have mobilized a far wider anxiety than we have thus far seen evoked to mitigate the appalling prospect of famine over large areas of the world. He would, I believe, have made the food-producing nations see that hunger is the parent of nihilism and that from nihilism there emerges not the cosmos we could make but the chaos which precedes the breakdown of a civilization. We miss his gift of dramatizing the problems of peace as Mr. Churchill knew how to dramatize the problems of war so that those to whom he appealed recognized that a national responsibility only

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becomes effective when it leads not merely to governmental action but also to a continuous sense of individual responsibility.

If a foreigner may venture an opinion upon an American issue, one of the most tragic consequences of Franklin Roosevelt's death is the evident disintegration of the liberal forces which he made a coherent whole. I do not mean that there are fewer liberals in the United States than when he was in the White House. Rather do I mean that there is not the same focal point about which men and women of liberal views can gather; that what was an organic movement has become atomized, and that as a result liberal America has lost both its sense of direction and that sentiment of urgency which gives to an idea its driving power. The exodus from Washington is symptomatic of this disintegration. There are not merely new faces in the Administration—that was inevitable; there is also a change of mind. The trend in the White House is less to build on the foundations President Roosevelt laid than to be uncertain where those foundations were established. One has the feeling that where Franklin Roosevelt made the interplay of institutions in the federal government a great popular lesson in the political education of the electorate, today the interest has waned, and Congressional proceedings have returned to a familiar routine which elicits only an occasional flicker of attention; most of that attention, as in the case of Mr. Pauley's nomination, is bound up with persons rather than with principles. There is thrust and counter-thrust. There is wanting the argument and counter-argument which made the Roosevelt Administration so essentially, and with all its defects so creatively, what Bagehot termed "thinking government."

I hope I am mistaken when I make the guess that for both the major parties the absence of Franklin Roosevelt from the political scene has been on the whole a good deal of a relief. A really great man is always something of a burden to the men who run the political machines. Greatness has a certain incalculable quality about it. It irritates the professional politician because it can never be adjusted to the calculations he is accustomed to make. He is faced with unexpected decisions to which with a swift unease he has to adjust himself. Even worse, he is faced with unexpected appointments which he can never quite explain away to the pushful strivers who look up only to be sent away unfed. When he deals with the leader who conforms to the normal standards he can go back with a sigh of relief to the old game with its old rules.

Franklin Roosevelt differed from Woodrow Wilson in that his leadership was flexible as well as massive, and that he enjoyed the duel with his critics instead of feeling that their opposition was a denial of natural law. He differed from Theodore Roosevelt in the important fact that the leadership he gave was an adult leadership, in which he posed great issues greatly and both demanded and secured their mature consideration. Theodore Roosevelt's leadership was more like that of a robust and thundering Peter Pan, leading his progressives as though they were a band of ardent Boy Scouts out on a picnic. There were always thunder and lightning, but they were always stage effects. The first Roosevelt had plenty of fun firing off the blank cartridges with which he had loaded his pistol, but Mr. Perkins or Elihu Root could always comfort Mr. Morgan and his colleagues by the assurance that this was the rehearsal of a play that would never reach the theater. The second Roosevelt put a dozen vital measures on the statute books with none of his predecessor's sound and fury, but they always meant something which struck at the heart of privilege and put the interests of property increasingly on the defensive.

There is another way in which the death of Franklin Roosevelt made a big gap which no one has yet filled. He had as full a sense as any of his predecessors of the amplitude of American power, but he had a sense also, inherited from his association with Woodrow Wilson, that American power had ceased to be self-sufficient and that his major task was to find the ways and means of harmonizing that power with the needs of a unified world. It is important to note that he sensed the necessity to find the institutions through which this unity could express itself from the very outset of his Presidency. He saw from the first that Hitler was the ugly symbol of a vast counter-revolution which, if left unchecked, would threaten and perhaps destroy the democratic forces of the world. That was why he welcomed the rebuilding of the long-broken relations with the Soviet Union. That was why also he gave the world the solemn warning of the great quarantine speech at Chicago in 1937. That was why he poured in aid to Russia in the critical years after Pearl Harbor. He never failed to realize that the defeat of Russia would mean the victory of the counter-revolution. He put his international faith with majestral simplicity into the noble concept of the Four Freedoms.

Franklin Roosevelt died with the knowledge that victory in the field was certain. He could not know whether the victory in the field would be followed by the translation of the ends for which it was won into the lives of ordinary people everywhere. We do not know ourselves. We can see the leaders of the great partnership which smashed the fascist menace in Europe and Asia standing uncertainly before their handiwork. We are bound to feel a deep sense of uneasiness at their pause. We cannot yet perceive whether it is an interval in which they seek to renew in the making of peace the high purpose for which they fought the war, or whether it is an interval in which, as in the tragic inter-war years, each will seek to shuffle out of common responsibilities

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by going his own way. I think that Franklin Roosevelt, had he lived until the spring of 1946, would have bidden us take warning from two terrible memories. He would have noted that the surrender at Appomattox may have broken an evil system only to renew its ugliness in new forms, that Reconstruction, which should have been a reformation, lost the spirit of creation in the irrationality of his hate. And he would have urged us to bear in mind that behind the chairs of the Big Three at Versailles there already lurked the shadow of Hitlerism. He would have wished to bring this world back to peace in the spirit of Abraham Lincoln. He would have wished to convince his enemy that nothing is worth fighting for that does not imply a common task in which the defeated can cooperate with the victors in removing the causes of ruin and conflict. Nothing else enables the defeated to begin the recovery of their self-respect, and it is that recovery alone which enables them to make their future instead of attempting to remake their past.

Franklin Roosevelt was a very great President because he was a very great man. I do not think he was a simple person. Great statesmen by the nature of their vocation are rarely simple. I do not think he was an original person in the sense that he had new ideas to communicate or new roads over which to lead. His genius lay in his uncommon power, in the first place, to make the common man want what he recognized as right when Franklin Roosevelt told him it was right. It lay, in the second place, in his refusal ever to accept defeat, in the persistence with which he attacked again and again from every point of possible advantage the breastworks of that citadel of privilege in which he saw the permanent enemy of the common man. It took immense courage to go on with that offensive for more than twelve years of office. I know that he had many and devoted colleagues. But I think they would be the first to admit two things. First, he never failed them either in courage or inspiration. Wherever the battle was he was always at its center. And second, however superb the help they gave him, in the end the heaviest burden was always his. A great President of the United States, whatever the outward appearance, is always ultimately a lonely man. The final decision is his decision; the final responsibility is his responsibility. In the grave years of his Presidency history never permitted Franklin Roosevelt to forget this was so. He faced immense dangers, and he overcame them. Let us remember that in the effort to overcome them he gave his life. We do not forget that in Europe. If his tomb is in a small township of the state of New York, we who have known him understand why Pericles said that the whole earth is the cemetery of noble men.

The Greek Elections

BY HAL LEHRMAN

The Nation's *correspondent in the Mediterranean area*

Athens, April 3, by cable

THE royalist at our table was no longer in the army, but he still wore a sergeant's uniform and smiled at the regular officers who passed, and they smiled back. His chest was bright with campaign ribbons —Africa, Sicily, Rimini, and Samos. The trouble was that he did not know the war was over. He said, "I'm down here to protect the royalist candidate, Gonatas, against the reds. Gonatas is speaking at Kalamata tonight. We've a complete military set-up in the mountains. Supplies? We know where the Communist villages are, so we raid 'em. Make plenty of arrests, too. When we catch someone special who isn't fit to live we kill him like a dog. The police are no trouble. They even come to us for help and advice."

That same day I turned down a chance to make $6,000. Kalamata is where the royalist gang leader, Manganas, butchered twelve hostages last February. The price on Manganas's head is 30,000,000 drachmas. A British police officer told me he had led Greek gendarmes for 150 miles on foot across the mountains vainly hunting for Manganas. I asked the officers of the Kalamata gendarmerie to help me get to Manganas for an interview and received precise directions on how to find him. The local X-ite (royalist) chief offered to conduct me to the place where he was, three hours from Kalamata. I declined only because I had to get back to Athens for the elections.

The rest of my five-day tour to the south of Greece turned up a dozen other reasons why the elections should not be held. Corinth, Argos, and Tripolis were crowded with leftist refugees from the mountain villages. The crown and the letter X were painted in blue on every wall, but in only one town in fifteen was the E. A. M. still permitted to have offices. The prefect of Messenia was an appointee of the liberal Sophoulis government; when I gave him a lift between Kalamata and Megalopoulis, a ninety-minute trip, he took two bodyguards with him. A peasant girl, Vassiliki Papandemetriou, told me that the X-ites killed her mother and brother because another brother once belonged to the E. L. A. S. The possession of arms is punishable by twenty years' im-

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prisonment, but a rightist magistrate in Nauplion explained with a wink, "We let the boys off lightly on the excuse that they are suffering from 'confusion.' "

The Peloponnesus is so belligerently royalist that even the donkeys had the King's picture tied to their tails! In one remote village I found that the total voting population consisted of eighty leftists, most of whom had been afraid to register, and five rightists; yet the active registration lists carried well over a hundred names. Throughout Greece the dead, the non-existent, foreigners, and double voters cluttered the rolls.

An indispensable condition for a democratic election is public security. I was visiting the Socialist leader Tsirimokos in Athens when a railway official telephoned to say he could not guarantee Tsirimokos's safety on a trip to Lamia, where he was to make a speech. The anti-E. A. M. Liberals Vlachos and Gondikas were forced to withdraw their candidacies under threats by rightist bands. Even a candidate of the party of Papandreou, a man who had fought in the civil war against the E. A. M., was driven off the island of Cephalonia. The best of all the royalist candidates, Tsailas in Salonika, openly berated his running mates as "bankrupt, incapable quislings," allied with bandits. Ten Cabinet ministers resigned rather than condone the elections. The retiring Minister of Security, Mercuris, publicly declared that weapons confiscated from the E. L. A. S. had been turned over to the rightists. The retiring Vice-Premier, Caphandaris, pilloried the British for blocking the purge of the police. When asked to rebuke General Tsakalotos for banning leftist posters, Premier Sophoulis said, "I do not interfere with Tsakalotos. He is the X-ite leader. He obeys nobody." The Premier admitted to foreign correspondents three days before the elections that the prerequisites for a free vote were lacking but said that international considerations made it impossible to postpone them.

The Centrist government made its debut last November with pledges by the British that elections would be held only after the rolls had been cleansed and order reestablished. Britain's insistence—with the uneasy support of America—on nullifying this promise was a Munich in miniature and dangerously alienated Greek democracy. Although the Labor government's motives are understandable, its gargantuan clumsiness isn't. It all started from the rift over Iran. But the chanting of Bevin and MacNeil that everything is rosy in Greece, whereas Russia's tactics elsewhere are evil and machiavellian, is, to say the least, unimaginative. The British say, "If we lose Greece, then Italy and Turkey go too." Nothing in Greece since the civil war has brought the Black Sea closer to the Mediterranean than this parody of an election.

The presence of the Allied Mission to Observe the Greek Elections put the Greeks on their good behavior and cleaned up some of the isolated abuses. Ten dead men registered as living voters in Nauplion were scratched from the lists after an Allied observer discovered the fraud. The mission worked hard; its weakness lay in its limited powers: it was to report fraud and violence but not combat them. Allied Mission observers on the island of Crete were unable to accompany me to a Republican rally—"We are forbidden to attend; if there is trouble we'll investigate later." Moreover, most of the members of the mission subconsciously identified their prestige with the success of the elections and therefore personally resented the boycott by the left. The others, sublimely impervious to realities, adopted as their slogan the limerick:

> Embarrassing people called Greeks
> Have divided themselves into cliques
> How awkward the fact
> Whichever we back
> We'll be wrong in a couple of weeks.

The election itself went off as quietly as could be expected in Greece. The scrimmage in Athen's Omonia Square on the eve of the election, which hospitalized thirty-three leftists and six policemen, and the sporadic country-wide gunplay on election day hardly ruffled the surface. But the much-touted indelible liquid stain which the Allied Mission promised in limitless gallons, so that every voter's thumb might be dipped in it and repeaters detected, failed to appear. Several districts illegally kept the polls open three hours after sunset to give the boycotters every chance to change their minds. At the last moment the rightists reversed their tactics and began to threaten people who had not voted.

The most potent slogan in the election lexicon was *Apochi* (Abstain). Peddlers even hawked *Apochi* cigarettes and souvenirs. Although the preminary findings of the Allied statisticians showed that early newspaper estimates of the extent of abstention were too high, the total of Republican votes and genuine abstentions indicated that the apparent royalist majority at the polls was actually a minority in the nation.

The monarchist strength is based mainly on the popular desire to avenge and forestall the recurrence of the exaggerated but none the less real excesses of the leftists during the occupation and the civil war. It remains to be seen whether the royalist leaders can resist the vendetta impulse of their followers. Many of the top leftists were busy last week cheerfully preparing emergency hideaways and an underground organization. They calculate that even if the victors restrain the masses, crucial economic conditions will force a cycle of repression by the authorities and retaliatory sabotage by the workers which must culminate in a dictatorship and ultimate reaction against reaction. The leftist leaders, confident of the inevitable swing of the Greek political pendulum, will stand firm and await their hour.

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Socialism and Europe's Fate

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

Paris, April 2

BEGINNING last Thursday the French Socialists met at Montrouge in a four-day extraordinary congress. Though the meeting had been called for the specific purpose of discussing the forthcoming elections and certain sections of the new constitution, I attended the sessions with deep interest, convinced that at some point the real feelings of the delegates would cut across the restrictions of the agenda. The climax of the congress came on Saturday when Prime Minister Félix Gouin delivered his first campaign speech. Following closely on his Strasbourg speech of March 24, Gouin's talk to the Socialists revealed that he is in an excellent position to capitalize on his growing prestige to the advantage of his party in the coming elections. Though as president of the Constituent Assembly he had displayed ability and leadership, few people thought of him a few months ago as anything more than an emergency Prime Minister.

I began to change my mind when I talked to Gouin at the recent dinner given by Vincent Auriol in honor of the Spanish Republican government. He is a modest man, a subtle reasoner, with an extraordinary amount of common sense and a calm faith in France's ability to weather its present difficulties. At Strasbourg he had dealt mainly with foreign policy, advocating a kind of international consortium for the Ruhr that would secure control of coal and steel production without separating the region from Germany and a prolonged occupation of the Rhineland without annexation. In short, he had tried to find a common meeting ground where American and British views could be reconciled with French insistence on security. His speech at Montrouge was equally moderate. He asked the Socialist Party and the French workers in general for increased production, without, however, promising the country more than its coal and raw-material resources and its financial situation will allow. As the June 2 elections approach, it is important to keep in mind the factor of Gouin's new prestige; a popular Socialist Prime Minister could upset the current predictions of a heavy cut in the number of Socialists who will be returned to Parliament.

Because this was a pre-election congress, controversy was limited to an occasional slap at the other two parties in the present government coalition. But an old hand at Socialist congresses could sense the various nuances. Since the liberation there have been two opposing tendencies within the French Socialist Party—the centrist tendency of Léon Blum and the leftist tendency represented chiefly by the Resistance. (The rightist tendency was ruthlessly eliminated by the expulsion of no fewer than 120 former Socialist deputies, all of them collaborators or appeasers.) On his return to France Blum worked out a new "declaration of principles" to replace the party's forty-year-old charter. He proposed that French socialism should abandon the ideology of class struggle for a kind of socialist humanism whose principal aim, according to Blum, would be "to liberate the human being from all the servitudes that oppress him and thus assure to men, women, and children, in a society founded on legality and fraternity, the free exercise of their rights and natural faculties." The traditional goal of socialism—the transformation of capitalist society into a collectivist one—was left for some distant future; the declaration spoke only of "the conquest of public authority." Worried by the threats to civil liberties in the postwar world, afraid of the new Europe, Blum was trying to preserve the humanitarian aspects of socialism.

It didn't work. An extraordinarily intelligent leader, he soon realized that the Socialist Party was in a different mood; without any opposition on his part the assembly of regional delegates which met in March declared itself in favor of the strict socialist principles of the 1905 charter. Of course that did not put an end to the reformist trend; one speaker at the Montrouge congress inadvertently referred to "our comrades of the M. R. P." He was loudly hissed.

I got the clear impression that the majority of the delegates were thinking in terms of a government, after the election, composed exclusively of Socialists and Communists. This does not mean that they would have accepted a proposal for closer organic relationship between the two parties; on the contrary, a certain attitude of distrust toward the Communists was perceptible throughout the sessions. And I am afraid this is more or less the case all over Europe. A number of obstacles must be overcome before there can be talk of genuine left partnership. To begin with, there must be an improvement in the relations of the Big Three; the fact that Labor is in power in Britain at a time when a new crisis with Russia arises every other week greatly complicates the problem of getting Socialists and Communists to work together. The Communists resent any attempt by the Socialists to minimize the errors of British Labor's foreign policy. On the other hand, though many Socialists share the Communists' critical view of British policy in Spain, Greece, and elsewhere, they are reluctant to disassociate

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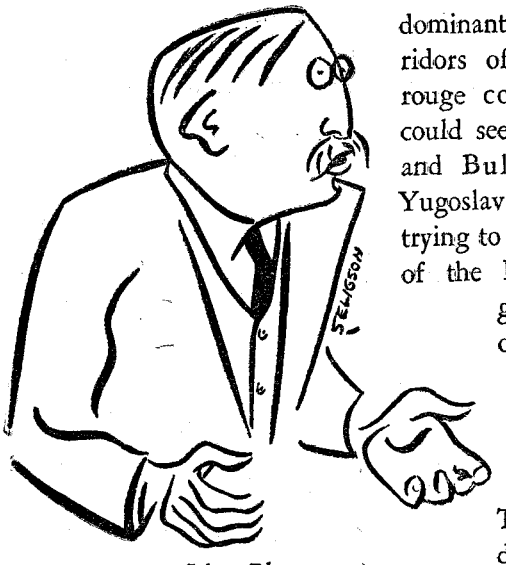
themselves entirely from the British party, which is one of the strongest socialist parties in Europe and may remain in power during the decisive years ahead. Recently a British-French Socialist interparliamentary group was formed.

The Socialists resent the treatment of Socialist parties in those countries of Eastern Europe where the Communists are dominant. In the corridors of the Montrouge congress one could see Rumanian and Bulgarian and Yugoslav Socialists trying to catch the ear of the French delegates to pour out their interminable stories of grievances and miseries. This situation, difficult in itself, is aggravated by the activities of anti-Russian, anti-Communist fanatics who for twenty years have been spilling their poison into every Socialist Party. They care nothing about Spain or Argentina or the serious Nazi plot uncovered in Germany two days ago; they are interested only in adding some new detail to the latest story, true or false, that can be used against Russia. As Socialists they do not regret any mistakes made by the Soviet Union, which, whether they like it or not, *is* a socialist state; instead they delight in them. If London were one day to break with Moscow, a most improbable contingency, they would haul down the picture of Karl Marx and replace it with one of Bevin. Even where the majority of the Socialist Party rejects their views, as in France, the fact that they are members creates another element of friction in the relations between Socialists and Communists.



Léon Blum

The obstacles I have just enumerated might be filed in a dossier marked "Foreign Policy." But there are others which derive from the differences in temperament and tactics of the two parties within each country. Here the Communists must make the main effort to dispel the suspicion shared by many Socialists whom it would be ridiculous to classify as anti-Russian or anti-Communist —the suspicion that when a Communist talks unity, he means unity on his terms, with the Communist Party running the whole show for its exclusive benefit. It is too much to expect that any Socialist, however convinced of the need of working with the Communists, will let himself and his party be treated almost as intruders in the labor movement. It makes no sense to talk unity and then denounce a Socialist as a reactionary or a semi-fascist the moment he disagrees with the Communist line.

Socialists are indignant at the thought that the Communists consider them companions to be tolerated only until more useful ones can be found; that the Communists would throw them overboard if they decided an alliance with the M. R. P. would improve their chances in the elections. This fear may be unfounded, but it exists and it would not serve unity to silence it. Socialists may disagree with Léon Blum, as they did in March, but they respect him and are proud of his courageous stand at the Riom trials. They would accept any objective criticism of Blum, and many of them criticized his exaggerated romanticism about civil rights. What they cannot swallow is the idea that if Blum were to come out tomorrow for a merger with the Communists he would be acclaimed by them as an enlightened political thinker, while if he opposed it he would overnight become an old "gaga." The issue is quite clear. Either the Communists feel strong enough to rule alone, or they need the collaboration of other progressive forces and especially of the Socialists. In the latter case, they must change their methods.

Sometimes the question is largely one of tact, if that word is not too bourgeois. In the recent Zurich municipal elections, for example, it was decided after a long controversy in the Socialist press to form a single slate with the Communist *Parti du Travail*. The results were not what the coalition expected. It did not obtain a majority, but the *Parti du Travail* won a large number of seats, the Socialists being the losers. The Swiss Communists celebrated their victory by abusing their Socialist allies and asserting that the elections showed the Communists were going to become the only party of the working class in Europe.* In Germany, too, it might have been possible for Grotewohl, the leader of the merger movement, to win more support if the Communists had not given the impression that the merger had been decided in advance with the blessings of the Russian occupation authorities, and that the Socialists had nothing to say about it. Even so, the plebiscite held last Sunday in the British, American, and French sectors of occupied Berlin revealed that a majority favored a working arrangement with the Communists; while the proposal for fusion was rejected by 19,529 votes against 2,937, still 65 per cent approved some kind of cooperation between the two parties. I am not suggesting that questions of form are the only ones involved, or even the most important; I do be-

*The results in themselves would be no argument against coalition. In Italy it was thanks to just such a coalition that the left fared so well in the recent municipal elections. Returns from twenty-one large Italian cities which voted in last Sunday's fourth wave of local elections show the Communists and Socialists leading in fourteen of them; and it is very likely that the gains of the two parties will increase as returns come in from Milan and other cities in the north. The trend in Italy is unmistakably to the left. Italian anarchists have smashed the desperate efforts of native reactionaries and of Vatican and British circles to save the royal house.

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lieve they often have a more irritating immediate effect.

At Montrouge the Socialists declared themselves ready to assume the responsibility of leadership in French politics and voted to continue the practice of presenting their own slate of candidates in the elections. Nevertheless, in many ways they showed their willingness to work with the Communists. For instance, the congress decided to lift the sanctions taken against the leaders of the Tarn Federation for having agreed to write in Communist newspapers and allow Communists to write in the local Socialist press; it also authorized local joint meetings of Socialist and Communist groups. In general, the prevailing tendency of the congress was to the left. On the question of nationalization and secular control of education its stand was clear and firm. The conviction dominating the whole meeting was that at least limited agreement between Socialists and Communists is indispensable if the social program of the Resistance, demanded by the people, is to be carried through. Without that collaboration the measure to nationalize electricity and gas would not have been adopted the other night by the Constituent Assembly and the trusts would be in a position to sabotage the entire socialization program of the government. On the development of genuine understanding between Socialists and Communists depends the fate of Europe—and indirectly the fate of the world.

Twilight of Boss Kelly

BY MILBURN P. AKERS

Chief political writer for the Chicago Sun

Chicago, April 3

THE shadows of late afternoon are lengthening over Chicago's notorious Kelly machine. Night, whether it falls with the suddenness of the tropics or draws in more slowly as in northern climes, is definitely on the way. Edward J. Kelly, mayor of Chicago, chairman of the Cook County Democratic Committee, chairman in fact if not in title of the Illinois State Democratic Committee, and national committeeman from Illinois for his party, has stumbled—stumbled over an issue that any small-time politician in downstate Illinois would know enough to avoid.

Ed Kelly—who has had a hand in the making of Presidents, who has made and unmade judges, who has controlled, in bi-partisan deals, Republican legislatures, whose whim or fancy has been sufficient for the election of hundreds of minor office-holders—failed to understand that sooner or later the people would resent the exploitation of the Chicago public-school system by his henchmen. That exploitation has now become an explosive issue. Augmented by a half-dozen or so other issues, it is the basis of an increasingly formidable attack on the Kelly machine.

Ed Kelly, at seventy, has reached an inevitable stage in every boss's career. Acts of omission and commission are beginning to catch up with him. Blinded by success and versed only in power politics, Kelly places his dependence on precinct captains. He is apparently unmindful of the fact that many a boss has been toppled from an equally solid throne by the turn-out, on Election Day, of that portion of the public over which precinct captains exercise no control. The school crisis has made an impact on that type of voters.

Last May a committee of the National Education Association made a report on Chicago's public schools. It charged that they were under political control, that nepotism and favoritism prevailed, and that "some of the personnel practices in Chicago schools are undemocratic and even fascist in nature." It accused the president of the board, James B. McCahey, personal friend and appointee of Kelly, of attempting to "dominate and control teacher organizations and their officers," and the superintendent, William H. Johnson, of maintaining a spy system. It denounced the use, in Chicago schools, of textbooks written by Johnson. So serious were the charges that the N. E. A. later expelled Superintendent Johnson from membership.

Kelly tried to ignore the report. So did his hand-picked state's attorney, William J. Tuohy. Tuohy has yet to ask a grand jury to investigate the charges of corruption made by the committee of educators who spent six months on a survey of the school system. But Chicago, awakening from its civic lethargy, demanded action. The Independent Voters of Illinois, a small but growing organization, some sections of the Parent-Teachers' Association, various civic clubs, some elements in organized labor, and two newspapers, the *Daily News* and the *Sun*, hammered away on the subject day after day.

Kelly, though he has a boss's cynical disregard for public opinion, was finally forced to act. He permitted an aldermanic subcommittee consisting of five of his political henchmen to conduct public hearings on the N. E. A. report. But both he and his henchmen overplayed their hand. It was obvious from the start that the aldermen, all politically beholden to Kelly, were against any examination into school affairs. Late in March the Church Federation of Greater Chicago said of the hearings, "Whether intended or not, those men [the sub-

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committee] gave the unmistakable impression that they are not concerned about the public interest nor for the truth; but that even if it costs them their reputations as fair and sincere public servants they are determined to keep as many facts as possible from getting into the record." It concluded, "The councilmen's attitude gave stronger support to the allegation that Superintendent Johnson and Board Chairman McCahey have mismanaged the schools than even the condemning statements made by many representatives of reputable organizations."

Undoubtedly Chicago's schools will be an issue in next November's state elections, when the entire House of Representatives in the Illinois legislature and one half of the Senate are to be voted on. Already candidates are being told by various groups that they will be supported only if they pledge themselves to vote for a legislative investigation of the Chicago school system by a competent committee equipped with the power of subpoena and supplied with funds for attorneys and investigators. Kelly candidates are ducking the issue. To investigate the Chicago public-school system is to investigate Kelly and themselves. To refuse a pledge of such action is, for many, to invite defeat.

One might imagine that Republican candidates would make the most of such an opportunity, but few have tried to do so. Ordinarily, a Republican legislature like that of Illinois would jump at the chance to investigate a Democratic city administration like that of Chicago, but there is a peculiar tie-in between Mayor Kelly and Governor Green. Kelly lets Green name a couple of pals for election to the Circuit or Superior Court—a bipartisan deal they seek to make smell better by calling it coalition—and in return the Mayor gets help from Green when he requires specific measures for Chicago.

Politically, the state, like Gaul, has been divided into three parts—the City Hall for Kelly, the State House for Green, and nothing for the public. But it is extremely doubtful whether "Little Pete," who aspires to the G. O. P. Presidential nomination in 1948, can protect Kelly any longer. It is almost certain that unless Kelly acts on the school issue satisfactorily before the legislature convenes next January, a legislative investigating commission will be named, despite "Little Pete's" furtive efforts to prevent it. Kelly's request that the presidents of six universities in the Chicago area consider criticisms of the school system and make recommendations is described by leaders in the fight for reform as dilatory—they demand immediate action.

Kelly, if he wants to continue as mayor, must be reelected in the spring of 1947. He cannot run against the N. E. A. report, or against an investigation of his regime by a legislative commission. The aldermen made a failure of the whitewash job. Unless Kelly is willing to risk his kingdom by further defying public opinion, he must make the next move. And that move, it is generally conceded, will be to toss Superintendent Johnson overboard. Few will shed a tear when this happens, for Johnson has failed miserably as an educator. But it is highly doubtful that his sacrifice will appease those who are determined to free Chicago's schools of Kelly spoils politics. It is the system they want to change; the ousting of Johnson and McCahey and other Kelly-appointed board members is only incidental.

The condition of the schools is rapidly becoming the biggest local issue that has arisen in Chicago politics in several generations. But Kelly is also plagued by a host of other issues. His police force, never over-zealous except in cracking picket lines, has been shown up as intolerably inefficient by its failure to apprehend the maniac who committed Chicago's most horrible recent crime—the kidnaping and murder of little Suzanne Degnan, whose dismembered body was recovered from the city's sewers. The fate of Suzanne will be in the minds of many people on Election day.

There are other weak spots in the Kelly machine. State's Attorney Tuohy, always uncomfortable when outside of Kelly's vest pocket, ignored repeated requests for grand-jury action in the school situation, but rushed in to do a whitewash job for the machine when an eccentric judge—a renegade Republican whom Kelly had put on the bench—cast aspersions on the integrity of several other Kelly henchmen. The judge publicly charged an assistant of Tuohy's with being party to a proposed tax sale of a building in a deal which would have benefited the Kelly machine and gypped the public. Tuohy immediately issued a statement clearing his assistant. When the judge refused to be quieted, Tuohy got a grand-jury review of the case. The jury, of course, found nothing wrong in short order.

There are indications, however, that the alleged tax scandal has not been downed—despite Mr. Tuohy. More will be heard about that deal. And more may be heard about the strange case of "Big Bill" Johnson, a boss gambler with political connections who received a penitentiary sentence five years ago but only recently began to serve time. A federal grand jury has evinced an interest in this case.

Of course Chicago has long watched a steady procession of scandals. The difference today is that Chicago is beginning to wonder whether it can afford the luxury of Kelly and his machine. It is beginning to compare its tax rate—one of the highest in the country—with that of other municipalities. It is beginning to demand that its streets be cleaned, its garbage collected, its air rid of smoke from belching chimneys. Ironically, those voters who would end the Kelly regime have nothing to turn to except the Green machine. No independent Democrat or Republican of sufficient stature to challenge Kelly or Green has emerged. But Chicago—and this is a healthy fact—is certainly looking for one.

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EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS

Stretching for Inflation

WHAT is parity price? In the original Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1933 it was defined as "that price for the commodity which will give to the commodity a purchasing power with respect to articles that farmers buy equivalent to the purchasing power of such a commodity in the base period." For four of the five "basic" crops this period was fixed as August, 1910, to June, 1914—years when prices of farm products were comparatively high; so that parity price for, say, a bushel of wheat means a sum which will buy as much cloth, or coffee, or fertilizer, or electric current as the average proceeds of a bushel of wheat in the base period. In other words, parity price is a ratio between the price of any farm product and the general price index. If the market price of cotton remains stationary while the index rises, the parity price of cotton will also rise.

Much of the farm legislation of the thirties was aimed directly or indirectly at hoisting agricultural prices to the parity level. It was justified on the ground that farmers had been receiving less than their fair share of the national income, with the result that the economy had become unbalanced. Undoubtedly there was much force in this argument, but to achieve, and still more to maintain, a steady balance between the proportions of national income accruing to agriculture, to labor, and to capital is an exceedingly delicate operation. Up to the beginning of 1942 the balance, in fact, remained tilted against the farmers, despite government subsidies and support payments. Since then, however, it has shifted markedly in their favor, and today the index for farm prices as a whole is well above the parity level.

Devoted as the farmers have been to the parity conception, they, or at least their organized voices, have been reluctant to realize that it is a two-way proposition. Yet it is obvious that if the parity level represents a price structure which is fair to the farmer and the consumer, a rise above that level must give the farmer something more than his share, must mean that the dollars of the rest of us are less valuable in terms of agricultural products than they were during the base period. Nevertheless, since 1942 the farm bloc and its Congressional supporters have been fighting to raise ceilings while maintaining parity as a solid floor.

Not content with a considerable degree of success in this direction, they have also attempted to tinker with the parity scales so as to give farm products more weight. Representative Pace of Georgia has long been pushing a bill which seeks to include the wages of farm labor among the costs of "the articles that farmers buy." Had this been proposed in 1933, the effect would have been to reduce parity prices, for at that time farm wages were very low. Now, however, it would mean a steep rise, since agricultural workers, while still relatively poorly paid, have about tripled their earnings since the war. On the other hand, labor productivity has also increased sharply, as is indicated by the fact that a huge addition to farm output has been possible despite a sharp drop in the available labor force.

The Pace bill has twice passed the House of Representatives only to have its further progress blocked. But now Senator Russell of Georgia has succeeded in attaching it to the minimum-wage bill, despite a warning that the President would veto the bill if it included this excrescence.

Regrettable as this outcome would be, the President is clearly justified in threatening to veto a proposal which would open a wide breach in the anti-inflation dike. According to government stabilization officials, upward revision of parity prices would mean an immediate jump of 20 per cent in actual farm prices and add four to four and a half billion dollars ($125 per family) to consumers' annual bills. This is because the government is committed to support farm commodities by market purchases when their prices fall below 90 per cent of parity. The following table shows the extent to which the raising of this floor would push up present actual prices for leading farm products:

		Pace-Russell Plan	
	Price		*Support*
Commodity	*Feb. 15*	*Parity*	*Price*
Wheat (bu.)	$1.55	$2.10	$1.89
Corn (bu.)	1.11	1.52	1.37
Cotton (lb.)	.23	.29	.26
Hogs (100 lbs.)	14.20	17.20	15.48
Beef cattle (100 lb.)	12.60	12.80	11.52
Eggs (doz.)	.326	.474	.425
Milk (100 lbs.)	3.33	3.89	3.40

Quite apart from its effect on the cost of living, the jacking up of parity prices would add enormously to the potential liabilities of the Treasury. The government has undertaken to hold prices at 90 per cent of parity until two years after the end of the war, and since "the end of the war" for this purpose has not yet been proclaimed, this means for three more crop seasons. Worldwide shortage of food is likely to keep market prices high this year and probably next. But by 1948 there is a possibility of large surpluses which the government will have to buy in order to keep prices at the prescribed level. Consequently, the total cost to the taxpayer of the new parity might well run into billions of dollars.

Defending the revised parity plan, Senator Russell claimed that something had to be done to save the farmers from being "crushed" by the rising prices of manufactured goods. In fact they are already well cushioned against this development, since under the present formula the parity line advances automatically with every rise in prices of the things the farmer buy. Equally baseless is the assertion of Senator Thomas of Oklahoma that "farmers are the only group in America that has not had a break during the war period." The fact is that farmers as a group have done very well out of the war. Since 1939 farm prices have risen 77.6 per cent, those of industrial products 26.8 per cent—which means that "the terms of trade" have shifted sharply in favor of agriculture. Farm-mortgage debt is at its lowest point in thirty years; farm savings are the greatest in history. We should not grudge farmers these gains, for they lost much ground in the period between the wars. But they should beware of overreaching themselves in an inflationary stretch.

KEITH HUTCHISON

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Franco Before the Security Council

ON THE day the Security Council convened in New York a Memorandum on Spain was submitted to the President and Delegates. Drawn up by The Nation Associates, the document was signed by representatives of eight national organizations: Henry A. Atkinson, secretary of the Church Peace Union; Reinhold Niebuhr, president of the Union for Democratic Action; William L. Shirer, chairman of the Friends of the Spanish Republic; Jo Davidson, chairman of the Independent Citizens' Committee of the Arts, Sciences, and Professions; Philip Murray, president of the Congress of Industrial Organizations; Raymond Swing, chairman of the board of the Americans United for World Organization; Elmer Benson, chairman of the Executive Council of the National Citizens' Political Action Committee; Frank P. Graham, chairman of the Advisory Council of The Nation Associates; and Freda Kirchwey, president of The Nation Associates. Clearly and in detail the Memorandum showed that Franco Spain not only was an enemy of the United Nations during the war, but even now, contrary to the State Department's recent assertion, constitutes a serious threat to peace and security.

The decision of Poland to raise the question of Spain in the Security Council adds timely importance to a document whose intrinsic value is evident, and it is with great satisfaction that we present in the following pages those sections of the Memorandum which contain the basic material out of which the case against Franco must be built. For the first time since the Spanish Republic fell, the issue of Spain's future confronts the world as an immediate, inescapable challenge. Spain can again be betrayed. It can no longer be ignored.

The general press reaction to Poland's dramatic move was one of cynicism. W. H. Lawrence in the New York *Times* referred to it as "part of a new diplomatic offensive by Russia," and this theme was repeated in most newspaper comments here and in London. We have no doubt Russia welcomed Poland's intervention, but it seems to us superficial in the extreme to write the event off as nothing more than an act of retaliation. Russia's interest in Spain is not a phenomenon of the past few weeks. At every stage of the world's downward progress from 1936 the Soviet Union has insisted upon the central importance of Spanish fascism. And in this position Russia has been supported by the liberal and left forces in every country, including Britain and the United States.

But today, as in 1936 and later, Britain and the United States have deliberately forfeited the opportunity to assume leadership in the opposition to Franco. They have refused to act even though they were urged to do so, repeatedly and most insistently, by France. With blind stubbornness they have permitted Poland to take the initiative and by that gesture have invited Russia to move into Western Europe. Why should anyone expect Russia to decline?

And why should friends of Spanish democracy in this country and Britain decline Russia's support? Over and over we have begged our governments to face honestly the implications of their pronouncements against fascism —and against Franco. For reasons never openly admitted they have refused, taking refuge at last in legalistic doubts as to whether Franco's regime menaces international security. They have tried to gain grace by pious phrases rather than by works. And worst of all they have prevented France, which twice asked that the Spanish issue be taken up by the U. N., from putting the question before the Security Council.

Now Poland has done it; and we rejoice that at last the necessary step has been taken. We have no doubt Ambassador Lange will be able to prove that fascism in Spain is a continuing threat to the peace. Part of the proof is to be found in the White Paper issued by the State Department; part appears in the Memorandum which follows. More remains to be collated and published: it is buried among the captured Nazi documents. Still more is in the possession of newspapermen and other observers recently returned from Spain.

The evidence is important; for when it is properly presented it will, we are certain, show how hollow are the excuses for inaction put forward in London and Washington. The British and American governments may even decide to adopt a new policy on the basis of facts presented to the Council. We cannot believe that they will wish to stand before the world as the sole opponents of collective action to efface the last important focus of fascism on the European continent. Though they have lost the initiative, it is not too late for them to save their democratic faces by supporting Poland's request.

To President Truman, in particular, we commend the concluding passages of the Memorandum submitted to the Council, with its four principal demands:

1. That the United Nations officially proclaim Franco Spain a satellite of the Axis and therefore an enemy of the United Nations, thus making explicit the implicit charge in the resolutions adopted at San Francisco and at London.
2. That a directive be issued to its member nations to withdraw recognition from Franco Spain and apply economic sanctions.
3. That the Spanish Republic be acknowledged as the legitimate government of the Spanish people.
4. That to give practical effect to this policy the

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members of the Security Council be authorized to enter into contact with the Spanish Republican government in exile and other democratic groups opposed to Franco, with a view to supporting and recognizing a provisional Republican government representative of all the democratic parties, capable of reestablishing the Spanish Republic on a solid foundation, and pledged to hold a free election at the earliest feasible moment.

We ask for the people of Spain no more than the help accorded to other countries victimized by the Nazis. Neither in the case of Czechoslovakia, nor Norway, nor Denmark did we expect the population, by its own effort, unaided, to throw off the Nazi yoke.

Today it is commonly acknowledged that Hitler's war on the world began on January 30, 1933, when he assumed office, and that the six years between 1933 and 1939 were the preparation for the invasion of September 1, 1939. In this first stage of the Nazi war on the world half Europe was conquered through propaganda, espionage, quislings, and the threat of armed force.

Spain was the first victim of Nazi aggression. Thus the liberation of the Spanish people, already too long delayed, is an inescapable act of justice. It was they who fought the first battle against Nazism and lost a million people in the struggle. Despite the oppression of Franco and the Falange, they have never ceased to struggle for freedom, a fact which is attested by the thousands of Spanish Republicans still languishing in Franco's jails.

In all countries where they were to be found Spanish Republicans were an integral part of the Allied war effort. In France, during the years of occupation, Spanish Republican exiles were a formidable arm of the French underground. Their role with the French *maquis* in the liberation of France provides one of the most striking records of heroism the war has produced.

Action to supplant Franco by any form of government other than the Republic will be acceptable neither to the Spanish people nor to freedom-loving people elsewhere. The latter demand the restoration of the Republic because this was the form of government chosen by the Spanish people in 1931 and because such a government, pledged by its constitution and proved by its acts, is the only assurance that Spain will be a contributing factor to peace—and not to war.

In March of 1944 President Roosevelt, in a letter to Norman Armour, our newly appointed American ambassador to Spain, promised: "Our victory over Germany will carry with it the extermination of Nazism and similar ideologies."

Until Republican Spain is restored, this pledge will remain unfulfilled. Until it is fulfilled, there can be no peace and no security!

The main section of the Memorandum, which follows, supports these conclusions and gives the essence of the argument against Franco. We hope our readers, after studying the text, will write or wire President Truman and Secretary of State Byrnes asking for full American support of the proposal of the Polish delegate in the Security Council.—EDITORS THE NATION.

Memorandum on Spain

The Record

IN FEBRUARY, 1936, a free election produced a moderate popular-front government . . . committed to democracy at home, collaboration with the principal democracies of the West, especially France and Great Britain, and adherence to international commitments.

On July 18, 1936, civil war broke out in Spain. The signal for the war was given when *General Francisco Franco arrived at Tetuan from the Canary Islands in a Lufthansa plane placed at his disposal by Hitler.*

On March 9, 1939, after three years of desperate struggle, the legitimate Republican government of Spain was compelled to leave the country, defeated by the armed might of Hitler and Mussolini. It was followed into exile by thousands of civilian refugees and the greater part of the Republican army. One million Spaniards lost their lives in this three-year war. While the Spanish government was prevented from obtaining arms by the policy of non-intervention, Germany and Italy made Spain the testing ground for the world war, which broke out six months after the defeat of the Republic.

Germany's assistance was evaluated by Franco at $100,000,000 in November of 1943. It included infantry divisions, the use of the Luftwaffe, arms, and, more important, technical and military advice.

The aid received from Mussolini has been evaluated at $379,000,000. It included the services of some 100,000 Italians who fought with Franco on Spanish soil, an air force, guns, artillery, motor vehicles, bombs.

That Hitler's dual purpose in aiding Franco was to try out German weapons in actual warfare and to divert the attention of the civilized world from Germany in order to permit it to rearm was disclosed in an affidavit dated September 22, 1945, submitted to American intelligence officers in Germany by General Karl Warlimont, Hitler's personal representative at Franco's headquarters in 1936 and later General Alfred Gustav Jodl's Chief of Staff at Hitler's field headquarters.

The New York *Times*, on November 7, summarized the 7,000-word affidavit of General Warlimont as follows:

> The first German intervention came in mid-July of 1936 when Hitler placed a Deutsche Lufthansa plane at Franco's disposal for the historic flight from the Canary Islands to Tetuan, which was the signal for the revolution. The moment fighting started, Franco dispatched the same plane to Germany to plead with Hitler for immediate aid.
>
> Franco's delegation consisted of high Spanish officers and two business men. Hitler received the delegation and acceded to Franco's request for transport planes to fly troops across Gibraltar Strait into Spain.
>
> Thirty JU-52 transports took off immediately via France and the Pyrenees. This was followed in mid-August by a fighter squadron accompanied by a fleet of transport planes containing ground personnel.
>
> At the same time Hitler sent warships into Spanish waters.
>
> On August 25 Warlimont was summoned by Field Marshal Werner von Blomberg, who told him that Hitler had decided that Germany and Italy would give Franco limited

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armed aid. Marshal von Blomberg outlined Hitler's policy as follows: "Although German air support would be substantial, German aid on the ground would consist only of armament and sufficient personnel to train Spanish troops in use."

On August 26 Warlimont, accompanied by Admiral Canaris, chief of German Intelligence, flew to Rome, where they met Benito Mussolini and General Mario Roatta. Mussolini agreed to Hitler's program in Spain and promised like aid. Then Warlimont boarded an Italian cruiser and sailed to Tetuan.

At Tetuan Warlimont called himself Guido Waltersdorff. A German plane flew him to Seville, where he and Roatta conferred with General Gonzalo Queipo de Llano. The latter accompanied them to a first meeting with Franco at Caceres.

Warlimont and Roatta each promised to send three companies of fully equipped troops to fill Franco's deficiencies. In October the three promised German companies arrived, but Franco was upset when he examined the German light tanks equipped with one machine-gun each.

Meanwhile the Luftwaffe was exerting a big effort in Spain, but Franco continued to demand more aid.

On November 30 Admiral Canaris arrived at Franco's new headquarters in Salamanca to inform the Generalissimo that Hitler was sending the Condor Legion, comprising 6,000 Luftwaffe men under Field Marshal General Hugo Sperrle. Actually, comments Warlimont, the whole conception of the Condor Legion was Göring's. *He wanted to give Luftwaffe recruits battle training.*

Still Franco was fearful of eventual defeat and demanded greater help. On December 20, 1936, Warlimont and General Wilheim Faupel, then German ambassador to Spain, met in Berlin with Hitler, Göring, General Ludwig Beck, and von Blomberg to discuss the whole matter. Warlimont's report of this meeting is revealing. He writes: "Faupel wanted three infantry divisions sent to Spain immediately. I objected on the ground that although the Spanish soldier was quite a good fighter, it would not add to the German troops' morale to fight beside Spaniards. Göring and von Blomberg agreed with me. Hitler expressed fear that it would be impossible to camouflage the identity of 60,000 German troops and also that such action on Germany's part would force France to intervene on the Republican side, with fatal results for the Fascists. Moreover, Hitler *added that if they could concentrate the world's attention on Spain, it would help Germany.* He was not anxious to finish the war quickly. Therefore Hitler decided not to send three divisions but only to increase the scope of German training of Spanish troops and to send additional war material."

This report was confirmed by Hermann Göring on March 14, 1946, testifying before the International War Crimes Tribunal. There Göring stated that he had asked Adolf Hitler to send help to General Franco during the Spanish civil war "to prevent the spread of communism and to try our young forces experimentally. At that time I had an opportunity to see if we had the proper equipment, and I saw to it that the personnel got some experience. Young men continually went and returned."

Whatever doubts may have remained about how Franco came to power were dispelled when on February 25, 1946, it became known that the Italian government was attempting to collect on the sums Franco owed Mussolini for aid.

Franco Establishes a Totalitarian Regime

On April 1, 1939, General Francisco Franco assumed power. The Republican government was supplanted by a totalitarian regime allied in concept and program with that of the Nazis. The Falange became the real ruler of the country. Civil liberties were suppressed, freedom of the press was destroyed, and with it freedom of assembly, organization, and religion; contrary to the practices of the Republic, only the Roman Catholic religion was legally recognized.

To establish its authority the Franco regime instituted a reign of terror, using the Falange as its instrument. By governmental decree the Falange became the sole political party. Subsidized by the state from the national revenue, possessing its own militia and police force, the Falange was henceforth the principal agency of so-called justice and the chief administrator of social relief. The Falange, instructed by Gestapo agents, also became the instrument of Axis propaganda and repression.

In 1943 over a million people were in concentration camps, prisons, and labor battalions. Under the "law of political responsibilities" promulgated by Franco, Spaniards could be legally prosecuted for acts committed even before July 18, 1936. Any Spaniard who had voted for one of the democratic parties in the general elections of February, 1936, could be held responsible for contributing indirectly to the crisis in Spain. Punishment was decreed for those who had abstained from supporting or had been indifferent to Franco's regime during the period of the civil war.

Spain Participates in the Axis War

All during World War II Franco Spain actively aided the Axis war effort. Without any formal declaration of war against any member of the United Nations, it was none the less a direct participant in physical aggression against one of the Allies, the Soviet Union, and served as an integral part of the Reich's machinery of war, which included, in addition to its armed forces, the vital services of a fifth column and a spy network.

In the summer of 1940, after the German occupation of France, Franco seized Tangier, an international zone.

A year later, when Hitler invaded the Soviet Union, Franco organized the Blue Division, which fought with the German armies on Soviet soil against the Russians.

In 1942 Franco prepared to come to the assistance of the Axis in North Africa. He mobilized his armies in Spanish Morocco for that purpose, compelled the Allies to maintain a large force on the border of Spanish Morocco, and constantly harassed them by a war of nerves. The consequent immobilization of large Allied forces had the effect of actual aggression.

Of even greater importance was Franco Spain's assistance to Nazi Germany in other fields. It helped feed and arm the German armies. It served as a transmission line to the Nazi High Command in the Mediterranean. It was the training ground for a Nazi Gestapo destined for South America.

Germany was the chief beneficiary of Spain's exports. In February, 1944, the German periodical *Die Deutsche Volkswirtschaft* boasted that 39.2 per cent of Spain's exports went to Germany proper and 30 per cent to German industries in the occupied countries.

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In Seville Spanish plants made explosives and other chemical products for the Nazi war machine. In Trubia and Reinosa Spanish plants turned out gun barrels for German artillery. In Valencia hundreds of thousands of rifle cartridges were manufactured daily for Nazi use. In Barcelona motors were built for the Luftwaffe and the German U-boat fleet.

Iron ore, pyrites, lead, zinc, glycerine, nitrogen, ammonia, and wolfram, indispensable staples for the German armies, were constantly supplied by Franco Spain.

Collaboration with the Nazis also took the form of maintaining submarine bases at Spanish ports for the repair, refueling, and supply of German submarines and of building a string of air bases in Galicia and the Basque country from which the Luftwaffe attacked British and American shipping.

To enable the Nazis to send instructions to their ships and planes in the Mediterranean and keep in contact with their spies in North Africa, Franco Spain permitted them 100 radio stations in different parts of the country.

One of the most important training centers for Nazi spies was established in Spain. To make it possible for Nazism to spread to Latin America, Franco Spain established the Council of Hispanidad, through which Nazi propaganda against the United Nations was disseminated. With the aid of the Council of Hispanidad, the Nazis were able to send German agents to Latin America on Spanish ships.

Through these agents large Axis funds were transferred to Argentina and elsewhere. Through them newspapers, radio stations, agricultural lands, industrial sites, and miles of waterfront properties in Latin America were purchased with Nazi funds.

The Spanish diplomatic service cooperated in helping the Nazis salt away in Latin America their ten years' plunder.

In the Blue Book on Argentina issued by the United States Department of State on February 11, 1946, the charge was made and documented that during the war Spain was to serve as the transmission belt for the delivery of German arms to Argentina; these arms were to be picked up at Spanish ports by Argentine freighters. Involved in these arrangements was Eduardo Aunos, then head of a Spanish economic mission in Buenos Aires. In August, 1942, Aunos, according to the Blue Book, informed the Nazi agent in Argentina that a secret Spanish-Argentine agreement had been reached for supplying Argentina with ammunition powder, "the execution of which would only be possible with German support."

According to the Blue Book, the German Foreign Office, reporting on various negotiations, "discussed a three-cornered deal, with Spain in the middle, so that Spain would deliver arms to Argentina which we would replace in Spain, while Spain delivers raw material to us which Argentina replaces in Spain."

In February, 1946, the Franco government appointed Eduardo Aunos ambassador to Brazil. After the Blue Book disclosures the Brazilian government refused to receive Aunos as ambassador.

Franco Spain a Continuing Threat

Despite this record and the action at San Francisco, Potsdam, and London, the United States, Great Britain, and other members of the United Nations continue to maintain diplomatic relations with Franco and offer him the benefits of the normal commercial and other facilities accorded to friendly powers.

Is there any justification for these friendly relations? Has the menace of Franco Spain vanished? To answer that question it is necessary to examine the record of events since June 19, 1945, when the first resolution barring Franco from the UNO was adopted.

The record shows that the Franco regime is continuing its totalitarian practices. Despite its announced amnesties and so-called democratic reforms, thousands of political prisoners still languish in Franco's jails. Their number is variously estimated at from 60,000 to 250,000. Arrests are an everyday occurrence; the death penalty is still imposed for opposition to Franco—usually defined as "Communist incitement."

Late in February, 1946, the Franco government executed Cristino García and nine other Spanish Republicans who had aided the French resistance forces. On February 25 a military tribunal sentenced thirty-seven Socialist leaders and members of the Federation of Labor to terms of six to ten years on the charge that they were attempting to reestablish the Socialist Party.

Also threatened with execution are Maria Teresa Toral, Isabel Sands Toledano, and Mercedes Gomez Otero, Republicans, who have been accused of political activities.

The Spanish government is now circulating publicity releases in the United States and elsewhere asserting that the executed Republicans and the three women prisoners are simply ordinary criminals responsible for murder and terrorism.

How political prisoners are treated in Spain today was described by C. L. Sulzberger, after a survey of conditions in Franco Spain, in a dispatch to the New York *Times* printed on February 25. This dispatch said:

> Even the most conservative estimates are that at least 30,000 political prisoners are languishing in jail and unknown other numbers in labor camps.
>
> In Madrid alone there are the large Carabanchel Yeserias and Vantas prisons, whose tenants are not all common crooks. No one knows from day to day how many are detained in the dungeons under Puerta del Sol. There are two infamous prisons in Alcala del Henares and a women's jail in Aranjuez.
>
> There are several forced labor camps in Madrid Province alone, three of which supply labor for the Madrid-Burgos railway. There are prisons of ill repute at Ocana in Toledo, El Dueso in Burgos, Santona in Santander, San Miguel de los Reyes in Valencia, Chinchilla in Albacete, and Puerto de Santa Maria in Cadiz. There are special jails in Majorca and Palma reputedly for "political obdurates."
>
> There are feared concentration camps at Naclares de Oca and Miranda de Ebro, in Morocco and Algeciras. There are forced labor camps in the Asturian coal mines and the mercury mines of Almaden.
>
> The agency that usually supplies political prisoners for these destinations is the Seguridad, which operates under the Ministry of the Interior and is actually headed by a Colonel Rodriguez, General Director of Security. It is closely integrated into a wide political-police system. Of its branches the most detested is probably the Brigada Social, dealing with political questions.
>
> The methods employed to obtain confessions are horri-

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ble. They include beatings with truncheons and pistol butts, poundings by professional thugs, intricate tortures with electric currents, gouging of eyes, forced holding of burning embers, and suspension by the ankles.

The press is still the prisoner of the Falange.

To work in Franco Spain one must have a certificate of attendance at church.

The record shows, moreover, that Franco Spain is an armed camp, that it is the host to and the chief protector of Nazi wealth, Nazi agents, Nazi technical personnel interested in new agggression.

The FEA Warns of Danger

Two months ago, in December, 1945, the Enemy Division of the Foreign Economic Administration of the United States warned that if future German aggression is to be prevented, it is essential "to establish control in areas outside of Germany of the war-making powers of Germans, their allies, and their friends." It emphasized that "it may be as essential to prevent Germans in country X from making bombs as to prevent them from so doing in Germany." It underscored the fact that in all German attacks since 1900 the Germans abroad and the assets they controlled have been of vital assistance to the homeland.

The possibilities of future aggression by Germany, the report said, lie in its economic penetration of other countries and in the numbers of Germans abroad. The report placed Spain at the head of the list of countries in which Nazi Germany had captured an important economic foothold.

"To prevent aggression," says the FEA, "the control over all important German-owned or -controlled industrial, commercial, and financial assets located outside Germany must be wrested from the nation and its nationals regardless of when acquired and regardless of pro-Nazi or anti-Nazi sympathies of the holder. The future use or disposition of all German assets outside Germany must be conditioned by the interests of international security. This is a policy dictated by practical necessity. No other can be adopted without a full recognition of the dangers involved."

Warning that economic penetration usually precedes political influence, the FEA emphasizes the importance of the German intrenchment in Spain. In Spain today, the report points out, "chemical, pharmaceutical, and electrical-goods industries are largely in the hands of German companies, whose plants are readily adaptable for use in experiments which could be the basis of a new war industry."

The economic occupation of Spain by the Nazis, according to the report, has been accomplished through long-term foreign investments, banks, reinsurance agreements, and patents. "Through reinsurance agreements, mostly of recent origin, neutral insurance companies have been tied to German capital and forced to accept German dictation; in addition, German insurance companies operate directly in the neutrals, thereby creating large fluid assets. In Spain alone there are ten registered German insurance companies receiving premiums of almost $3,000,000 a year."

Declaring that I. G. Farben gained a prominent position in Spain through its patents, the report says: "The Spanish chemical producer, Sociedad Electro-Quimica de Flix, is controlled by I. G. Farben and uses the latter's manufacturing processes. When transportation facilities between Germany and Spain were cut off by the occupation of France, I. G. Farben permitted its subsidiary in Spain, Unicolor S. A., to produce several patented products."

By this use of capital and technical skill I. G. Farben became "the most powerful chemical producer in the world and a tower of strength to the German war effort." Through their patents the Germans acquired assets in foreign countries in the form of royalties which very often are retained as a balance with the licensee. Thus, the report says, the Spanish branch of Schering A. G. carried an account receivable of $300,000 for license fees alone.

Another way in which Nazi Germany acquired a foothold in Spain was through the indebtedness Franco incurred for military aid. In this connection the report says:

During the civil war in Spain Nazi Germany actively aided the Franco party by lending technical assistance and sending the so-called "Condor Division." In this way Germany was able to test its new weapons in actual warfare. But Germany exacted payment from Fascist Spain and the latter reciprocated German military aid by sending the "Blue Division" to fight against Russia. A balancing of financial accounts showed that Spain was heavily indebted to Germany for civil-war aid. In November, 1943, an agreement was reached wherein Spain admitted a debt of about $100,000,000. Several payments which were made, outside the clearings, made available to Germany at least $60,000,000 in free credits in Spain. In July, 1944, the Spaniards still owed a balance of about $40,000,000. Exactly how the Germans disposed of the $60,000,000 is not known, but it seems probable that they used it to purchase Spanish property, to finance propaganda activities, to pay for goods, and to sustain the diplomatic service.

Nazi Holdings in Spain

An earlier report issued by the FEA on August 6, 1945, estimated that Nazi holdings in Spain, open and cloaked, were between $100,000,000 and $200,000,000. After Hitler came to power, Nazi holdings in Spain increased considerably, an important acquisition being a large interest in the production and marketing of foodstuffs, iron, and ferro alloys. This report listed two German-owned banks and ten German insurance companies with a Spanish director general and with total assets amounting to about $7,000,000. It charged that I. G. Farben controlled the Spanish chemical and pharmaceutical industry:

It controls a number of Spanish firms directly or through Unicolor S. A. I. G. Farben owns 51 per cent of the stock in Sociedad Electro-Quimica de Flix, which is capitalized at 6,000,000 pesetas. The manufacturing processes of this company are held under license from I. G. Farben, and a number of Germans are employed in the firm although the management is mainly in the hands of Spaniards. Quimica Commercial y Farmaceutica, S. A., a subsidiary of I. G. Farben, is capitalized at 3,600,000 pesetas. It represents sixteen German firms and has interlocking directorates with several large Spanish chemical companies. Through stock participation Unicolor has large interests in other companies. Another firm, Unión Quimica del Norte de España, with a subscribed capital of 60,000,000 pesetas, operates under patents licensed by I. G. Farben.

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German Personnel Dominates Spanish Industry

Underscoring the important factor of German personnel, the FEA, in its December report, says:

> German personnel abroad represents one of Germany's most intangible and at the same time most valuable assets. While title can be taken to tangible property, the technological, financial, or political experience assembled in the human brain evades control measures. It is entirely feasible for a skilled expert to go into hiding with his knowledge and to resume his activities at a later moment. Investigations conducted in this country at the time of seizure of Axis enterprises have shown the remarkable degree of technological cooperation between German employees of I. G. Farben in various countries. So great a part of engineering, chemical, and other industrial work is based on the cumulative experience of individuals that control over tangible property can never be more than one part of the entire control system.

No other country is so dependent on German personnel as Spain, since there are few Spanish technical engineers capable of directing the installation and operation of industrial machinery, says the FEA:

> German technicians know Spanish trade secrets and in many cases control the policies of various companies. Notwithstanding a Spanish law limiting the employment of foreigners, German personnel continues to be firmly intrenched in Spanish industry. Most of the equipment recently purchased by Spain has come from Germany. Naturally, German technicians supervised its installation and often remained as technical managers. But technicians are not the only Germans in Spain; managerial and administrative personnel abound. One has only to glance at a list of the directors of Spanish companies to realize the influential position of Germans, a large number of whom are fervent Nazis.

A German shipping agent in Bilbao, Spain, sent reports on the movements of British shipping to Berlin for use in submarine warfare and even sent supplies to Germans besieged in the French ports. German technicians and other personnel acted as Gestapo or military-intelligence agents, keeping Germans resident abroad in line with Nazi doctrines.

Persons of German origin who have become citizens of other countries are of the greatest importance for the German war potential, according to the FEA. In this connection it says that the Lipperheide family, naturalized Spaniards of German origin, control large mineral interests totaling millions of dollars, and throughout the war supplied Germany with essential ores and funds.

In its August report the FEA described the Lipperheide firm in the following terms:

> The most influential German firm in Spain dealing with minerals and metals is Lipperheide and Guzman S. A. (now known as Industrias Reunidas Minero Metalurgicas S. A.), whose widespread holdings include mines, smelters, and transportation facilities. In 1942 the capital of this firm was increased from 2,000,000 pesetas to 20,000,000 pesetas. Lipperheide and Guzman own an interest in or are closely allied with ten mineral and chemical companies in Spain and control assets of about $20,000,000.

The fears expressed by the FEA are confirmed by diplomatic observers and newspaper correspondents in Spain.

Spain an Armed Camp

Franco Spain today is an armed camp.

On December 22, 1945, Norman Armour, former American ambassador at Madrid, declared on his return to the United States from Spain that Franco maintains a standing army of between 600,000 and 700,000.

A week later, on December 29, the Spanish Cortes approved the 1946 budget which allocated approximately 50 per cent of the state expenditures to the armed services and the police force.

Four months earlier the Franco government had revived the institution known as *Somatenes*. This is an armed civilian army operating in communities of 10,000 population or less and empowered to make arrests. Under the decree proclaiming its formation it was given financial autonomy and its members were authorized to carry arms.

On October 26 Paul P. Kennedy, in a dispatch from Madrid to the New York *Times*, said:

> The Somatenes would provide an ideal niche for the Falange military arm should the organization ostensibly be disbanded. Under the provisions of the decree the Falange military, well trained and equipped, could easily discard the uniform and move effortlessly into a vigilante corps pursuing the almost identical course that it now does.

On March 13, 1946, Charles Menton, in a dispatch to the Overseas News Agency, expressed the belief that what may be a "Spanish version of the Manhattan Project" is now in progress in Franco Spain. He reported:

> Dr. Herman von Segerstady, "heavy-water" specialist who worked on nuclear energy at the Nazis' establishment in Norway, is director of the Spanish project. The plant, heavily guarded in all directions, is situated on the plains south of Toledo, near Ocana. Eight miles from Ocana the army has just completed an airport designed to accommodate such long-range planes as the C-47's which the Franco government recently purchased from the Americans.

Franco's armorers, he said, have profited by the worldwide "experiment" of the last five years.

> The automatic weapons made at Eibar are second to none in the world. The Trueba works are turning out Krupp-type 155-mm. guns on a Detroit schedule. The Estrella plant is making 1946-type Mausers from blueprints smuggled out of Germany after the Nazi defeat. The Toledo factories, formerly specializing in light arms, are now geared to produce automatic (Bren type) weapons, and a plant near Granada, founded by a Nazi concern in 1943, is daily turning out between two and six thirty-ton tanks.
>
> Certain sections of the French-Spanish border, such as between Elizonde and Fontarrabia, present the appearance of the Maginot line. Every road near the border is disrupted by tank traps. Every bridge and pass across the Pyrenees is mined and guarded by artillery. At Irun twelve long-range guns look down from the summit of Mt. San

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Martial, pointing to the French border town of Hendaye. Lieutenant Antonio Jesus Gomez, military commander at Pamplona, recently said that these measures were not merely defensive. He said the border set-up includes a "system of preparation."

Nazi Schools Flourish

Despite the opposition of the United Nations the Spanish government has authorized the reopening of approximately thirty German schools attended by some 10,000 children of the most prominent Spanish families. According to the United Nations, the German schools in Spain were an integral part of the Nazi propaganda machine, working directly under Goebbels and financed by the German government; the teachers were members of the Nazi Party.

Paul P. Kennedy reported that the Nazi government had at least two representatives among the directors of each school, one the local head of the Nazi Party and the other the ranking Nazi diplomatic official. The curriculum in the higher grades was wholly Nazi and was conducted with all the party trappings—salutes, swastikas, and pictures of Hitler.

On December 24, 1945, Joaquin García, in an article in the *New Republic,* said that while some of the schools have changed their names or locations and half the instruction is now in Spanish, the classes are taught by the same teachers, reinforced by numerous intelligence agents and, in the elementary grades, by some 40 of the 200 or 300 *Blitzmädel* (German counterparts of the American WAC's) who crossed into Spain from France when the *maquis* cut off their return to Germany in 1944.

Nazi Agents in Spain

On December 22, 1945, Ambassador Armour declared that one of the major problems still confronting the American and British embassies was the repatriation of some 9,000 to 15,000 German nationals who were in Spain on V-E Day.

On September 8 Paul P. Kennedy, in a dispatch to the New York *Times* from Madrid, reported:

> The situation of Nazi diplomats, agents, spies, and terrorists in Spain seems to be shaping up into a first-rate farce. The United Nations authorities have filed with the Spanish government the names of 300 Nazi espionage agents whom they wish to have removed from Spain. This list is not complete as to espionage agents, actual diplomats, many of whom proved to be spies, or known Gestapo agents, many of whom have records here as terrorists. Of the 300 some 50 are interned at Caldas de Malavella, summer resort on the Mediterranean, 25 or 30 have been ordered to intern themselves voluntarily at such favorite resort places as Toja and Foisegovia. United Nations authorities were informed that the procedure was for the Spanish police to notify the Nazis to report to a certain place, probably of their own choosing, without escort. In some cases the Nazis never reported. Others reported but left almost immediately.

Mr. Kennedy continued:

> Hans Lazar, former Nazi press attaché, whose power at one time was such that he could have Germans of ambassadorial rank removed from the Peninsula and who hired and discharged editors of Spanish newspapers, now is entertaining on his former scale at his beautiful home here. The extent of his fear of immediate removal to Germany may be gauged by the fact that he is building a tiled swimming pool on his estate.
>
> Dr. Karl Albrecht, president and director of the Spanish subsidiary of the powerful German electrical corporation E. A. G., not only is at liberty but remains in active control of his business and openly against the United Nations.
>
> Also active is Major General Eckart Krahmer, German air attaché, who on being asked whether he feared United Nations action was heard to reply, "To hell with the United Nations; I will be a Russian general before they succeed in getting me out of here."
>
> Anton Paukner, Nazi specialist in ships, who at least has tried to cooperate with the Allies, is living at San Rafael, mountain resort near Madrid. Dr. Karl Schröder, outstanding Nazi intellectual and educator, is at Malaga. Kurt Meyer-Döhner, Nazi naval attaché, who during the war never missed an opportunity to gibe the United Nations on their "stupidity," is still doing so at complete liberty, as is Hans Dörr, military attaché.
>
> Sigismund von Bibra, counselor of the former German embassy and chargé d'affaires, has returned to his home in Madrid preparatory to the autumn social season.
>
> These are only a few of the Nazi personages in Spain. In addition, there are scores of Nazi technicians and scientists who have filtered into Spanish airways, railways, laboratories, and industries.
>
> United Nations authorities here contend that the presence of these men in Spain constitutes a nucleus for Nazi reorganization. There are unverified but strong reports that unemployed Nazis are drawing monthly sustenance allowances from party funds. Moreover, the Nazis are more or less openly intimidating anti-Nazi Germans.

As late as February 9, 1946, the Spanish authorities were still helping high Nazis to escape deportation to Germany.

On September 25, 1945, the General Union of Spanish Workers, in a report to the World Trade Union Conference in Paris, declared: "In Franco Spain is a remnant of European fascists who are plotting conspiracies in Europe and through the fascist regimes of Portugal and Argentina in Latin America." The report charges: (1) that a powerful German Nazi Party exists in Franco Spain, supported by the Spanish Falange; (2) that Spanish shipyards are working to capacity on the construction of warships.

On October 14, 1945, the London *Times* reported that the Nazis still had large sums of money hidden in Franco Spain and that Nazis in Spain, forewarned of the freezing of German assets, received in advance salaries of from six months to a year. The paper estimated that the Germans had $5,100,000 and a ton of gold in coins and other assets, and this did not take into account hidden assets invested in industries of all kinds cloaked with Spanish titles.

On October 18, in a dispatch from London to the New York *Post,* Jon Kimche, after a visit to Spain, charged that German industry was closely linked with practically every phase of Spanish economy. He reported:

> Progress in unearthing these German assets has been slow and much obstructed by German camouflage and reluctance on the part of the Spanish authorities. Inquiries by the Allied embassies about German firms are often unanswered for months while the process of covering the German tracks continues.

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Virtually no assets which should go to the reparations pool have been taken over by the Allies. A number of obvious German concerns, such as banks, news agencies, and shipping companies, have been taken over from the Germans by Spanish government controllers. But the Germans continue in charge and the Allies have no real say. Even in these businesses, it is clear that real German assets have been salted away elsewhere.

German technicians and business experts were sent to Spain to become naturalized citizens, and a great many married into the Spanish aristocracy and commercial élite. German businesses were turned into Spanish concerns with Spanish directors while the German brains occupied apparently minor—but in reality all-powerful—positions.

The board of directors of Unicolor, which is the Spanish branch of the I. G. Farben trust, is typical. Unicolor is now a Spanish firm which, according to Spanish law, cannot be touched by the Allies; yet the board includes Ernst Asselman, Ernst von Steindorf, Dr. Steinhaüser, Erich Ochs, Alfonso Ma Gallardo, Walter Fischbach, Juan Santiagosa, Ernst Fischer, Erich Fischer, Gustav Zabel, Josef Mayer-Spiess, José Planella, Salvador Hoyoles, Juan Pittier, Felix Kotegen, Tomas Casanovas, and Juan Llorens.

The president is a Spaniard, and so is the vice-president. But the brains behind the organization occupies a minor secretarial position. He is Herr Ferdinand Birk-Crecelius.

There are a great many mining concerns and others that appear to have no economic justification. Allied investigators are certain that they were set up to make sure of the German grip on the country even if Franco was replaced by another regime.

Now, however, the existence of the German industrial octopus depends on keeping the Franco regime in office.

Allied officials in Spain are convinced that German interests in Spain continue to receive strong protection from the Spanish authorities.

German interests are concentrated over the entire Spanish economy but mainly in insurance, chemicals, fertilizers, engineering, and electrical trades.

It is estimated that there are $40,000,000 worth of traceable German cash assets in Spain and $100,000,000 to $120,000,000 hidden away, while most of the assets of the big companies have been camouflaged and will require months to unearth.

If the Spanish authorities take over these firms and run them with German technical assistance, they might provide future German industry with a powerful nucleus.

On December 24, 1945, Joaquin García, in a feature article in the *New Republic*, wrote: (1) that there are between 50,000 and 80,000 Germans in Spain; (2) that some 6,000 German scientists and technicians are engaged in research, some currently concerned with super jet-propelled planes and atomic energy; (3) that there are 3,000 espionage and sabotage agents, many of them officers of the Wehrmacht, who are unrestricted; (4) that 1,200 sailors and customs guards are living in de luxe internment.

Declaring that the protection of German agents by Spanish officials has been achieved primarily through the use of delaying tactics, Mr. García charged that as late as March and April of 1945 some 200 members of the *Sicherheitsdienst*, fluent in the use of Spanish and provided with bogus Spanish identity papers, were flown into Spain, where they now pass as Spanish citizens.

The chief espionage and sabotage agent, according to Mr. García, was Gustav Lenz, a captain in the German army and an officer in the *Sicherheitsdienst*.

Long-time head of espionage and sabotage, his network extended into every Spanish village, every Spanish regiment. One important Lenz group which included thousands of Germans and tens of thousands of Spaniards was generally called the Camisas Cruzadas, or Crusade Shirts, and at its peak numbered more than 70,000 commissioned and non-commissioned army officers, members of the secret police, postal inspectors, and immigration officials. Before the end of the war millions of pesetas were turned over to its key agents and assistants.

Discussing German control of Spanish industry, Mr. García wrote:

Radiating out from Barcelona, and secondarily from the Basque iron and shipbuilding center of Bilbao, are the banking, insurance, and industrial enterprises over which the Germans have established, and maintain, financial and technical domination. These industries include the manufacture of armament, mechanical and electrical equipment, dyes, chemicals, and shipbuilding, all significant in terms of a possible future war. To date, the efforts of Anglo-American "safe-haven" economic specialists to establish any type of Allied control or supervision over these industries have been spectacularly unsuccessful.

And further:

Today, throughout Spain, Spanish Morocco, the Balearic and the Canary Islands, German funds and German-owned companies are cloaked by Franquist and monarchist firms and individuals. The extent of this cloaking may be gauged by the fact that although more than 90 per cent of the German assets and flight capital in Spain is centered in Barcelona, Bilbao, and Seville, in the city of Tangier alone during the final months of the war upward of 800 firms suspected as cloaks were registered with the Mixed Tribunal. Typical instances of cloaking are found in the reorganization of the German-owned shipbuilding company Transcomar into the dummy Spanish corporation Compañia Naviera Bachi, and in the financial arrangements of Jose Lipperheide, German representative of the German Office for Compensation from Spain.

Another device for facilitating flight of assets was the "sale" to Spanish firms of thousands of tons of valuable machinery stripped from German factories and rushed to Switzerland for storage after the successful Allied landings in France. The transfer of German patents to Spanish firms, a means of enabling such companies as Daimler-Benz, Krupp, Messerschmitt, Heinkel, and Dornier Aircraft to continue their research and engage in production in Spain at the earliest moment, has also been widely employed. By the "reinsurance racket" and by banking manipulations, additional millions of marks have escaped into Spain, and frequently via Spain into Latin America. Other millions in the form of large-denomination peseta notes (a considerable part of the 270,000,000 pesetas which, according to March, 1945, estimates, remained unpaid on the Spanish civil-war debt), which had been kept out of circulation to prevent further inflation of Spanish currency, were flown from Germany to Spain.

An eyewitness account of the extent of German penetration into Franco Spain before and during the war and

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since its close is offered in an affidavit submitted in March, 1946, by Carmen Gurtabay y Alzola, Marquise of Yurreta y Gamboa, a cousin of the Duke of Alba. The Marquise, a Spanish Republican since early youth, returned to Franco Spain in 1942 to aid the American Secret Service. Her affidavit, which covers the period from August 1, 1943, to the end of December, 1945, states:

> The number of Germans in Spain is not 10,000 as some British papers very optimistically have said. Their number is more like 100,000. They can be classified into four groups:
>
> (1) The Germans who had worked in Spain and lived there since the end of the last war and the beginning of the twenties, although keeping their German citizenship. I could cite many, but as examples I will give two names: Emile Kiechler, Paseo de Recoletos, Madrid, representative in Spain of the Germany rotary-press industry. He is thoroughly pro-Nazi and boasted of being an agent of the Gestapo; he belonged to the German Bund, as most of the German colony in Spain did. Another of this type is Paul Kesler, long-time director of the Hotel Savoy of Madrid, who later owned a bar in the town of El Galgo. There are quite a number of men of this type in Spain; keeping their German nationality and German ideals, they have carried on all possible propaganda.
>
> (2) The second group consists of those Germans who, having official positions as consuls, commercial attachés, military attachés, stayed in Spain after Germany's downfall without being molested by the police, assured of freedom of movement and able to maintain contacts with their compatriots and Fascist Spaniards even though officially the German consulate had been closed.
>
> Of the functionaries who held official posts in Spain before Hitler's downfall, I calculated there were from nine to ten thousand, since in Madrid alone there were from two to three thousand.
>
> (3) The third group consists of Germans who were in transit in Spain during the war and especially those who came in after the French liberation and after the German débâcle. This is the largest group and is scattered all over the country. Though still possessing German passports, they have applied for Spanish nationality. Their best hunting-ground is Catalonia, where they have made very competent business teams with Spaniards.
>
> The Germans have opened up many factories and industries—I can cite Buna and Plexiglass. I think this latter product was originally an American invention, but the Germans have built a big factory, *run by Germans and with German capital, to produce it in Spain, and all this only six months after the end of the war.*
>
> (4) The fourth group, though the least numerous, is the most dangerous. These are the Gestapo agents and other minor war criminals who are on the United Nations Black List and who are trying by hook or by crook to get to the Argentine or to acquire Spanish or Portuguese nationality.
>
> Señor Stock, who, though officially the Chief of the German Cultural and Propaganda Department in Barcelona, belonged to the Gestapo, told my administrator he meant to get Spanish citizenship as soon as possible.
>
> Dr. John Kösler, owning a Portuguese passport, is another typical case. German Gestapo paymaster for the Iberian Peninsula, he naturally thinks that if he becomes a Portuguese everything will be well.
>
> The Portuguese police are very lenient with the few Germans they have had to arrest. They have let them escape under the very noses of the Allies.

The Monarchy as a Substitute for Franco

The newest maneuver to maintain the authoritarian regime in Spain in a form which might be acceptable to the United Nations, or at least to some of the Western democracies, is to substitute a monarchy for the Franco dictatorship. This maneuver is being arranged by the Junta of army generals which put Franco in power and by important elements among the forces which have maintained him in power—the landowners and the clericals.

Anxious to be accepted into the United Nations, these forces are prepared to sacrifice Franco. They do not propose, however, to change in its essentials the authoritarian character of the present regime.

C. L. Sulzberger, writing in the New York *Times* of February 26, 1946, said: "When Generalissimo Franco goes, virtually all Spanish officers will be for Don Juan. The church and big business, including such powerful figures as the Herrera Brothers, who started Señor Gil Robles on his political career, and the famous Basque banking house of Urquijo, foster the Bourbon pretender."

Yet according to Mr. Sulzberger, 70 per cent of the population, on a conservative estimate, are pro-Republican.

Despite the pledges of Don Juan, the pretender to the throne, the intention is to establish a corporate state and to bar genuine democracy and universal suffrage.

The monarchist movement was accelerated after March 22, 1945, when Don Juan called upon Franco to give up his powers and pave the way for the immediate restoration of the throne.

On July 17, 1945, a month after Spain had been barred from the United Nations, Franco announced that he would eventually restore the traditional monarchy. In the fall of 1945 extensive negotiations began between Don Juan and representatives of Franco.

That this action may have the approval of at least one of the big powers is indicated by the fact that on February 1, 1946, Great Britain, which has consistently been cool to any effort to restore the Republic, admitted Don Juan, who arrived in London on a British plane. The ostensible reason for his visit was to meet his secretary. This at a time when Spanish Republicans are consistently denied even transit visas through Great Britain.

Despite his recent denunciations of the Falange, Franco, and the Axis, there is nothing in Don Juan's personal record, the record of the Bourbon dynasty, or the record of the monarchists as a party to support any hope of a true democratic orientation.

Until it became obvious that the Axis would be defeated, Don Juan was an adherent of Franco and the Axis. On July 31, 1936, two weeks after the uprising against the Republic began, he attempted to cross the French-Spanish border to join Franco's forces. On December 6, 1936, he recognized Franco as "Chief of State" and offered to serve in the Spanish navy. On neither occasion was Franco ready for the return of the Pretender.

The authority for these statements is the official biography

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of Don Juan written by Francisco Bonmati de Codecido, the Pretender's intimate friend and former secretary, and published by the monarchists in 1938. The book reproduces a photograph of Don Juan wearing the Falange emblem.

Describing a conversation in the lobby of the Hotel Excelsior-Galia in Milan with former King Alfonso, Don Juan, and a Falangist writer, Gonzalez Ruano, Don Juan's biographer tells how Ruano showed the King his membership card in the Falange. "Number 5," he said proudly. Alfonso remarked contemptuously, "I'm 500 ahead of you. The first Falangists in Spain were General Primo de Rivera and I." "The first," agreed Don Juan.

Don Juan was consumed with anxiety lest the Franco revolution against the Republic fail to come off, according to his biographer. One day he burst out: "Could it be possible that the certainty of the military uprising exists only in my imagination?" When, on July 17, 1936, the revolution finally started, "he began to hear the first faint heart-beats of his true Spain." Immediately he asked for permission to join Franco's army. "July 20, 21, 22, 23 . . . Don Juan neither sleeps nor lives nor rests for a single moment. On July 31 he crossed the border into the rebel zone, dressed in overalls, with a red beret and the emblem of the Falange, the arrows."

Six months later, from the Hotel Eden in Rome, he pleaded with Franco to accept him as an officer or a simple sailor on the rebel ship Baleares. "I do not know, my General, whether in writing in this manner I am violating protocol. . . . But all my hopes are with you and all my prayers are that God aid you in your noble undertaking to save Spain."

Even today Don Juan is not ready to discard Franco. On March 8, 1946, Don Juan's secretariat, from his headquarters in Estoril, Portugal, denounced the joint attack on the Franco regime by the United States, Britain, and France:

> The joint declaration that the governments of France, Britain, and the United States have published regarding the present and future Spanish situation forces His Majesty to state explicitly that he considers absolutely intolerable such foreign intervention in the affairs of Spain and its regime, whose evolution, in the manner and rhythm demanded by circumstances, concerns Spaniards exclusively.

The true intentions of the monarchist forces backing Don Juan are revealed by the following correspondence. Subsequent to the March manifesto of the Pretender, Antonio Goicoechea, leader of the monarchist forces during the Republic and at present head of the Bank of Spain, wrote to Don Juan that he could not support the manifesto because he believed destroying the unity of the forces which encompassed the overthrow of the Republic in 1939 would be fatal. On April 11, 1945, the Marquis de Luca de Tena, a member of the A. B. C. publishing family, who has been flying back and forth between Spain and the Pretender's residence, answered this communication as follows: "I am pained less by your disagreement with the King's authentic manifesto than by the contribution of your juridical and political authority to the falsification being given to that document by attributing to it intentions of pure democracy and universal suffrage, which no one of even mediocre political education can find in the royal words."

Mimeographed bulletins published by the monarchists further disclaimed any intention to institute democracy. One of these bulletins declared: "When the King's manifesto speaks of a legislative assembly, it refers to one elected by the nation, a reference to the natural organs—family, municipality, corporation—and not to the sovereignty of the masses, which always ends in irremediable communism."

On October 15, 1945, *PM* carried an article by a man just returned from Spain whose name it withheld for security reasons. The article reported an interview with a "key man in the monarchist set-up in Madrid, with an honorable record in the Spanish diplomatic service, openly wearing the monarchist emblem in his lapel." This monarchist leader, as reported in *PM*, described how it was proposed to dismiss Franco and enthrone Don Juan, and the kind of government which would follow. This monarchist leader said: "Franco will have to go sooner or later. Franco received his powers from the junta of generals. He has abused those powers; therefore he must return them to the junta. The junta then will call in Don Juan to take the throne that is rightfully his."

Asked about elections, which had been promised by Don Juan in his March, 1945, manifesto, the monarchist replied: "Elections, but not too quickly. The Spanish people are not like you. They are excitable and they must have time to calm down. But the King has promised elections, and after some months Don Juan's advisers will draft a constitution which will be submitted to the vote of the people."

Spaniards, however, will not have an opportunity to decide whether they want a king, according to the monarchist spokesman. "The king is permanent and cannot change. If Spain is to survive, it must have one stable institution. The king *is*, and cannot be voted in and out like constitutions. The people can decide on the government they want—*under the king*."

A corporative parliament is the institution which the king will provide for Spain. Said the monarchist leader: "Of course there will be a parliament. The constitution that will be submitted to the Spanish people will provide for the type of parliament most suited to the Spanish temperament. It will be on the corporative model."

Asked whether he meant that the Spanish people will be represented not by legislators elected by direct vote but by legislators elected to represent trades, industrial groups, professions, the church, and the army, he answered in the affirmative: "The details have not been worked out, but that is the general corporative scheme. It is not what you have in America, but you must realize that Spain is not America. Our people are not ready for your sort of democracy. In countries like Spain one must have a government 'for the people,' yes, but not necessarily a government 'of the people.' Not yet."

Asked whether there was any conflict between his statements and the manifesto issued by Don Juan, the monarchist answered: "Certainly Don Juan has promised a popular vote on the constitution, but not a plebiscite on the monarchy. He has promised a legislative assembly 'elected by the nation,' not by mass voting."

This, then, is the new "freedom" awaiting the Spanish people under Don Juan.

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BOOKS and the ARTS

De Gaulle: a Dim View

I ACCUSE DE GAULLE. By Henri de Kerillis. Harcourt, Brace and Company. $2.75.

HENRI DE KERILLIS has a good record. At a time when the war cry of the bourgeoisie was "Rather Hitler than Blum!" he is reported to have told Blum, "Vous êtes un grand Français!" A Nationalist deputy, he was the only one of his class and party to vote against the Munich surrender, and he refused to accept the shameful capitulation of 1940. He rallied at once to De Gaulle. His book "Français, Voici la Vérité!" deserves to be more widely known. It remains the most vigorous indictment of the appeasers and, in its last chapter, the clearest summing up of the Gaullist ideal. It appeared late in 1942.

Just three years later Kerillis wrote this attack on De Gaulle, which for blind fury is unmatched in the literature of Vichy. I cannot probe the secrets of hearts and pocketbooks. I shall not imitate Kerillis's methods, and use rumors and innuendos as arguments. I take it that if Kerillis was "sold," it was only in the colloquial American sense of the term.

Like G. Ward Price, Kerillis stands for a policy which may be called Giraudism, although it existed before Giraud was invented. To this policy our State Department was pretty consistently committed. Roosevelt was yea-and-nay—as bold as the eagle, as harmless as the dove, as wise as the serpent, a bewildering menagerie. The Kerillis case is simple enough. He believed that France had lost, not a major battle, but the war, and that America was its only hope. A refugee, he was impressed by our formidable war effort. So he adopted, in all sincerity, the rule: "America, right or wrong!" As he was never a democrat but a believer in hierarchy, America for him meant the officials. Anything that might offend the State Department was treason to the best interests of France. Hull never had a more reliable yes-man. Kerillis even echoes Hull's indignation when the Free French liberated St. Pierre and Miquelon, which had "remained loyal" to Vichy. At the time, *The Nation* called Hull's outburst "a diplomatic Pearl Harbor."

Although in 1940 Kerillis had turned against Vichy, he was compelled to adopt the official American view that Vichy remained the sole "legitimate" government of France. (What harm Talleyrand, Ferrero, and their disciples are causing, even today!) De Gaulle had no right to set up a government as long as Pétain was ruling from Vichy. De Gaulle had (doubtfully) the right of enlisting in the fight against Hitler as the leader of French volunteers in the pay and under the command of Great Britain. This is the "military Gaullism" which Kerillis indorsed as opposed to the political. Later Darlan and Giraud were to attempt the paradox Kerillis has in mind: in the name and by the authority of the Marshal to combat the Germans with whom the Marshal was openly cooperating. Pétain, to the dismay of the *attentistes*, the wait-and-see people, did not tolerate that nonsense. Darlan and Giraud were duly excommunicated, as De Gaulle and Kerillis had been.

In support of his contention Kerillis quotes the Churchill-De Gaulle agreement, the charter of the Free French movement. But that document is explicit: "In the capacity in which I have been recognized by His Majesty's government as leader of all Frenchmen, wherever they may be, who rally to me in support of the Allied cause. . . ." This goes far beyond the conception of a French Legion in the British army with the same status as the Lincoln Brigade in Spain.

To the very last Washington tried to deal with Pétain, and when that proved impossible, with an authority acceptable to the Pétainistes and attentistes. This barred out De Gaulle. He became a "difficulty." Roosevelt might have said with Churchill, "My heaviest cross is the Lorraine Cross." Yet, with mounting evidence that public opinion in France and in America was behind De Gaulle, with Pétain carrying on his silly national counter-revolution and unequivocally affirming, "M. Laval and I are one," while Laval professed, "I desire a German victory," Hull's position, always shaky, became wholly untenable. But the more absurd it grew the more essential it seemed to Washington to snub and sneer at the upstart. It was immoral that a man with nothing but moral force should be allowed to defy the mighty.

Echo reinforced echo. While Kerillis and his friends were saying, "Hull right or wrong!" Hull could have said, "I am advised and supported by the very best Frenchmen, no less opposed to Hitler than I am myself: a great diplomat (to be sure, he was also a great cryptic poet, but Hull was probably not aware of that infirmity), two of the ablest and most patriotic political journalists, the suavest of biographers. Who are the rest who yap at me? Pinks and reds, the professors and the rabble."

So Kerillis turned against "political Gaullism." De Gaulle was a soldier: his sole duty was to fight, and to fight as a modest brigadier general, under the orders of men who had five stars on their sleeves and képis. Giraud, of course, was above politics. And in a sense Kerillis is right: Giraud, in his soldierly ingenuousness, did not know he was playing politics—or being played. He despised that slimy civilian trade. Of course, he was Right-minded, as any officer and gentleman would be; and he would protect decent society against the rabble-rousers.

It was touch and go. If, through André Philip, De Gaulle had not become the leader of the underground as well as of the Free French, if liberal opinion had not been so alert in his defense, the Kerillists might have had their way. There would have been a large Giraudist army, officered by the proper caste, triumphantly entering France with the victors; and it would have imposed a regime akin to those Churchill favored for Poland, Italy, Greece, and Yugoslavia.

That open yet barely conscious plot was foiled. It was foiled through what Kerillis calls "the violation of legitimacy," "the destruction of the army," "De Gaulle against the Allies," "De Gaulle's insatiable ambition." Well, when

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our troops entered France, no trace of Giraudism could be found. In the elections of 1945 the French had a perfect chance of restoring the "legitimate" Orleanist republic, and turned it down, twenty to one. Few men had a better opportunity of snatching power than De Gaulle; but the incipient Caesar stepped down with the quiet dignity so well described by Ida Treat. Every one of Kerillis's prophecies turned out wrong.* The dominant coalition of Communists and Socialists has no use for Kerillis and his sort. The third party, the M. R. P., is ardently devoted to De Gaulle. There is nothing for Kerillis to do except join *"le maquis du Maréchal."* He will not be in very savory company.

The saddest thing about this book is that the author, in his impotent rage, stoops to attacks of the vilest sort. There may have been Cagoulards among the early Gaullists; but Kerillis would have it that the General's camarilla was solid Cagoulard. De Gaulle is "a soldier who never fought a battle"—but with his improvised tank force he won, in 1940, one of the few minor advantages scored by French arms. "The hero of an order of the day," he "deserted the battlefield," he "made a 'daring' but safe escape from Bordeaux," he "stayed in London with his family." Never did Vichy, Laval, Doriot, say anything more venomous. Leclerc's division was "composed for the most part of mercenaries, and strongly reminiscent of the special corps created by Franco in Spain."

Kerillis is through: *jam faetet.* De Gaulle is out, but not down. In a recent book I said, "De Gaulle is not France." He is not infallible, and he might become a danger. His action was revolutionary, his methods at first autocratic, and he has the savior complex. Granted; but without these magnificent "faults" he could not have accomplished his task. So far his record is clear: he has done what he promised to do, no more and no less, and resigned. He is still a force: Washington became President many years after his great fight was won.

ALBERT GUÉRARD

The Costs of Competition

ECONOMIC PROGRESS AND SOCIAL SECURITY. By Allan G. B. Fisher. The Macmillan Company. $5.

SECURITY, if it means that every worker is entitled to remain in his accustomed job at his accustomed wages, and that every investor is entitled to a steady return on his capital, is obviously a barrier against rising production.

Professor Fisher has developed this thesis eloquently in "Economic Progress and Social Security." But he does not follow it to the extremes of a Friedrich Hayek, although his position is essentially classical. Fisher is quite willing to approve unemployment compensation and government expenditures for public works as cushions for individual misfortune and for the violent fluctuations of the business cycle. His target is anyone, left or right, who attempts to preserve a status quo, and his incisive criticisms of many currently popular economic proposals make his book required reading.

Less convincing is the insistence that it is actually possible to restore—or develop—a genuine free-market economy, in which both labor and capital will be sufficiently mobile to take prompt advantage of new techniques, and in which furnishing "what the consumer wants" is the ultimate economic good. Americans will read with some skepticism the author's recommendation to his British compatriots that they should devote more attention to our anti-trust laws.

Fisher's interpretation of consumer satisfaction follows the fundamentally middle-class character of classical economics. He writes: "In the last resort it is difficult to see how any consumer can get more adequate protection than is afforded by the knowledge that if his present supplier fails to satisfy him, there is someone else available upon whose services he can call in case of need." This privilege of shopping around is pleasant and is normally taken for granted by a majority in America and a substantial minority in England. But it does not mean much to poor people or poor countries.

Real competition requires that a substantial number of producers of each class of products have unused productive capacity and a reserve of unused or inefficiently used labor to draw upon. Otherwise, they cannot supply new customers. In the long run, Fisher would say, the condition will be satisfied if labor and capital can be freely transferred from one type of production to another. But under present conditions the process involves a considerable waste of labor,

* In particular, he had warned Giraud that De Gaulle would murder him; Giraud, as was his dearest wish, entered Metz at the head of French troops, and De Gaulle paid him a generous tribute.

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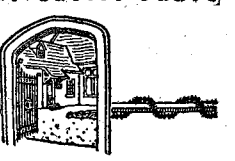

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labor skills, and capital goods. We can afford it in the United States, provided we take care of individual hardship through unemployment compensation and adequate retraining programs, and perhaps it is a desirable luxury. It does not help make our system attractive to impoverished nations.

Professor Fisher doubts that there is any other road to genuine economic progress. And so, despite its many virtues, his book is almost a counsel of despair, since he fails to convince the reader that there is any real possibility of establishing free competitive enterprise throughout the world. And in his long last chapter he holds that the free-market system should be world wide to have a fair chance of success. (He insists, not that it must be established within every country, but that it must apply to international trade.)

Although the style is on the whole somewhat academic, the book contains many quotable phrases, among which the most delightful is: "We may after the war again have to combat the curious notion that economic welfare is best served by preventing a large fraction of the female population from making any contribution to the national income."

CHARLES E. NOYES

BRIEFER COMMENT

The Not So Dead Past

THE LOST LANDSCAPE described by Winifred Welles (Holt, $3) may be found, in time, around the turn of the century; in place, at Old Norwich, in Connecticut. Presumably also lost is the way of life it describes, that of a decently well-to-do, medium-sized family, living, with servants, in a good-sized house; with a mother who stays home looking after the children, and a father who is a leading citizen in a not too large community; with a surviving grandparent living in the household, and other familiar presences; with ancestors, three or four generations back, also familiar, though not present save as portraits in albums, or attic mementoes. It is fashionable for us, townees in cocktail lounges, to think of this way of life as belonging, irretrievably, save in such memoirs as these, to the American past. Yet—I happened to be reading Bellamy Partridge's "Country Lawyer" at the time I was reading Miss Welles's book—need we be so sure? Is it not quite possible that around the next turn of the century somebody will find a publisher for a book written with perceptible and perceptive nostalgia about the idyllic quality that went with those unruffled days in the 1950's, in Easton, Pennsylvania, or Manchester, New Hampshire? For there still are towns, or small cities, whose leading citizens stay there all their lives, rear medium-sized families, live in three-story houses, with lawns that seem all too spacious when the grass must be mowed in summer and sidewalks obviously interminable when it is time to shovel off the snow. There are still, even, whole families that go to church on Sunday.

The first and third parts of "The Lost Landscape" deal with Miss Welles's own memories; the middle of the book narrates the history of her ancestors, going back four generations to Dr. Jonathan Aldgate, an army surgeon during the Revolution. Miss Welles seems more aware of the impact of world events on the lives of her ancestors than on her own; the sack of New London, the battle of Antietam come closer home to her senses than the explosion of the Maine, the assassination of McKinley, or the siege of Port Arthur.

Miss Welles writes with fine delicacy, restraint, perception, and love: her lost landscape is clearly and brightly seen, a little frail and diminished, cameo-wise, but not swimming in a blurred, sentimental, and moisture-laden haze. Elizabeth Bowen would have done it better—made it bolder, more intense, more true to scale—and with even greater insight; but almost nobody else would have done it so well.

ROLFE HUMPHRIES

Psychoanalysis: a Systematic Exposition

THE COMMON RUN of contemporary literature in the field of psychoanalysis gives far too much space to persuasive and often fascinating case histories and far too little to systematic and articulated rehearsal of exactly what is taught by psychoanalytical thinkers. One may recognize that the mental processes described do indeed correspond in a general way with what an introspective "literary man" feels to be true of his own type of mind. Yet one comes away from most books on the subject with little more than a confused sense that their impressive and dramatic insights constitute a consistent system. One could, of course, read steadily through the works of Freud; yet here the disadvantage is that they are bulky and were written over a long period of time, so that to some extent they must reflect the speculative development of the doctrines. What was really needed was as compact an exposition as, say, the student of Thomist philosophy can procure in his field. That need, fortunately, is supplied by Dr. Otto Fenichel's "The Psychoanalytical Theory of Neurosis" (Norton, $7.50).

Dr. Fenichel's book is not written expressly for laymen, but it is not formidably difficult. Its system and integration are admirable; repetition and "persuasive" argument are avoided. It does not aim to convince, but to expound. The few lengthy case histories in it are frankly labeled digressions. I was more than satisfied by its precision of statement and impressed by the author's signaling of points that remain obscure or in debate within the profession.

Dr. Fenichel is not an eclectic, and he is orthodox; yet his attitude toward non-psychoanalytic therapies is generous. While the only dynamic conception of the mind and its ail-

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ments is that contained in the Freudian psychology, other therapeutic techniques have their value. I was much interested, too, by his reticent yet confident direction of thought, at the close of his book, toward the social influences in malformation. He does not make extravagant claims and soberly declares the need for improvement in practice. But all these engaging merits are of much less importance than the major one, which should be restated. "The Pyschoanalytic Theory of Neurosis" should be of great use to the inquiring layman willing to take the matter seriously—and not as comforting or "literary" entertainment—for it is extensive, exact, and beautifully systematic. RALPH BATES

Friendship and Poetry

THE LITERARY ISSUE of the lifelong association recorded in "Florence Ayscough and Amy Lowell: Correspondence of a Friendship" (University of Chicago, $3.75) was a minor feature of the "New Poetry" movement of thirty years ago—their joint translation of classic Chinese verse which appeared as "Fir-Flower Tablets" in 1921. The part played by Oriental modes of technique and imagery in the poetic revival of 1912-25 was an important if limited one; these letters show the linguistic scholarship (Mrs. Ayscough's) and imaginative sympathy (Miss Lowell's) exacted and not always received by the Chinese masters from their interpreters. The book will thus have its value for students of Chinese poetic art, of its influence on modern literature, and of the translator's problems at their most difficult. For the rest, it is a memoir of two spirited women, a series of personal footnotes to contemporary literature, but chiefly an act of homage to Amy Lowell. This no one will grudge. Her driving energy, her talent for the defense and publicity of poetry, her combative loyalties, the zest and enthusiasm she communicated to others, have always been recognized and are here revived. It happens that these are seldom accompanied, in the present pages, by the more sensitive and generous, less political and strenuous qualities that might have made her a better letter-writer (perhaps also a better poet?). Whatever value the letters have for students, whatever charm they had for their receivers, they offer little charm or larger wisdom to the disinterested reader. The task of personal aggrandizement was one Amy Lowell by no means left to friends like Mrs. Ayscough. She pursued it restlessly, aggressively, and rather uncomfortably whenever she lifted her pen. Since this led her not only to promote her own purposes and enthusiasms but to denigrate anyone—Ezra Pound, Harriet Monroe, Arthur Waley—who failed to submit to her infallibility, she ends by being a tiresome and boring correspondent to the reader who takes his standards in this art from poets like Fitzgerald, Emily Dickinson, Yeats, and Rilke. Whether or not these limitations are relevant to Miss Lowell's qualities as poet and intelligence, as apart from her zeal as a leader and her inspiration as a friend, is something for students of her literary productions to consider. Meanwhile the present volume, carefully edited by Mrs. Ayscough's husband, Harley Farnsworth MacNair, may take its place as a minor document on modern poetry during a period of valuable renewals and explorings.

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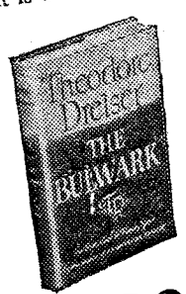

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Films

JAMES AGEE

"OPEN CITY" is a story of underground resistance during the late phases of the German occupation of Rome. The heroes are an underground leader; a co-worker and friend of his who hopes to marry a widow, pregnant by him; a priest who, generally at great risk to himself, is eager to help all of them. The villains are an epicene Gestapo officer; his Lesbian assistant; and a rudderless young Italian girl, misled by dope, sex, poverty, and easy money into betraying the patriots. The widow is shot down in the street. The leader dies under torture, without denouncing his comrades. The priest, who has to witness the torture, does so without pleading with the victim to give in and without ceasing to pray for his courage; then he is executed. The widow's lover survives; so does her eight-year-old son, who is active, with other children, in an effective underground of their own.

I have no doubt that plenty of priests, in Italy and elsewhere, behaved as bravely as this one. Nor do I doubt that they and plenty of non-religious leftists, working with them in grave danger, respected each other as thoroughly as is shown here. I see little that is incompatible between the best that is in leftism and in religion—far too little to measure against the profound incompatibility between them and the rest of the world. But I cannot help doubting that the basic and ultimate practicing motives of institutional Christianity and leftism can be adequately represented by the most magnanimous individuals of each kind; and in that degree I am afraid that both the religious and the leftist audiences—and more particularly the religio-leftists, who must be the key mass in Italy—are being sold something of a bill of goods. I keep telling myself that the people who made the film were still moved to reproduce recent experience and were in no state of mind and under no obligation to complicate what they had been through; I recognize with great pleasure how thoroughly both the priest and the partisans are made to keep their distinct integrities; and the fire and spirit of the film continually make me suspicious of my own suspicions. Nevertheless, they persist; so I feel it is my business to say so. If I am right, as I hope I am not, institutions of both kinds are here, as so often before, exploiting all that is best in individuals for the sake of all that least honors the individual, in institutions.

One further qualifier, which I mentioned a few weeks ago, no longer applies; some especially close details of torture have been cut, with no loss I feel, considering the amount of backstairs sadism any audience is tainted with. I have another mild qualifier: "Open City" lacks the depth of characterization, thought, and feeling which might have made it a definitively great film.

From there on out I have nothing but admiration for it. Even these failures in depth and complexity are sacrifices to virtues just as great: you will seldom see as pure freshness and vitality in a film, or as little unreality and affectation among the players; one feels that everything was done too fast and with too fierce a sincerity to run the risk of bogging down in mere artistry or meditativeness—far less the WPA-mural sentimentality and utter inability to know, love, or honor people to which American leftists are liable. The film's finest over-all quality, which could rarely be matched so spectacularly, is this immediacy. Everything in it had been recently lived through; much of it is straight reenactment on or near the actual spot; its whole spirit is still, scarcely cooled at all, the exalted spirit of the actual experience. For that kind of spirit there has been little to compare with it since the terrific libertarian jubilation of excitement under which it was all but inevitable that men like Einstein and Dovschenko and Pudovkin should make some of the greatest works of art of this century.

Robert Rosselini, who directed this film, and Sergio Amadei, the author and script writer, are apparently not men of that order of talent; but they are much more than adequate to that spirit and to their chance. They understand the magnificence of their setting—the whole harrowed city of Rome—as well as the best artist might and perhaps better, for though their film bristles with aesthetic appreciation and eloquence, these are never dwelt on for their own sake; the urgency of human beings always dominates this architectural poetry; nor are the human beings or their actions dwelt on in any over-calculated way. The raid on the bakery, the arrest of the priest and the partisan leader, the rescue of partisan captives, and a sequence during which all the inhabitants of a tenement are hauled down into a courtyard by a German searching party are as shatteringly uninvented-looking as if they had been shot by invisible newsreel cameras.

The scene which shows the violent death of the widow and the violent reaction of her son—in cassock and cotta—has this same reality, plus a shammed operatic fury of design which in no way turns it false. There are quieter scenes which I admire fully as much—a family quarrel, an apartment scene involving two men and two women, and a casual little scene between the underground leader and the widow in which anyone of even my limited acquaintance with underground activity will recognize the oxygen-sharp, otherwise unattainable atmosphere, almost a smell, of freedom. The performances of most of the Romans, especially of a magnificent woman named Anna Magnani, who plays the widow, somewhere near perfectly define the poetic-realistic root of attitude from which the grand trunk of movies at their best would have to grow; and the imitations of Germans seem better than our best imitations because they are more strongly felt and more poetically stylized. The picture is full of kinds of understanding which most films entirely lack, or reduce to theatricality. I think especially of the sizing-up look and the tone and gesture with which the Gestapo officer opens his interview with the newly captured, doomed partisan leader. In art only Malraux and Silone, so far as I know, can equal that in experienced, unemphatic astuteness.

"Open City" was made during the distracted months just after the Allies took Rome over. It was made on a good deal less than a shoestring; mainly with-

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out sets or studio lighting; on varying qualities of black-market film. All sound, including dialogue, was applied later. The author and director had a good deal of movie experience; nearly the whole cast was amateur. The result is worthless to those who think very highly of so-called production valyahs, and plenty of people in Hollywood and elsewhere will doubtless use that fact twice daily, like Mothersills. Others may find this one of the most heartening pictures in years, as well as one of the best. Not that anything it proves will come to them as a revelation. The Hollywood camera man Karl Brown made his excellent, pitifully titled "Stark Love," a story of Southern mountaineers, about twenty years ago, on about $5,000. And most of the great Russian films used amateur players—and surroundings—on budgets which would probably not pay for an American singing Western today. But plenty of people realize a point that many others will never understand and that there is no use laboring: some professional experience is exceedingly useful and perhaps indispensable, but most of the best movies could be made on very little money and with little professional experience. Judging by "Open City" they can be made a great deal better that way.

Art

CLEMENT GREENBERG

THE Tenth Annual Exhibition of the American Abstract Artists (at the American-British Art Center, through April 13) asserts a higher level than any other group show of contemporary art that I have seen this year. Not that it is crowded with masterpieces; indeed, there is more than enough to find fault with. Yet one can see at least six or seven strong paintings by young and for the most part unestablished artists; and the failures of the others take place on a high plane. Nobody tries to dodge the real problems for the sake of a facile, quick-selling success.

What most markedly characterizes the group as a whole is the effort to continue and develop the premises inherent in cubism, in the face of all the currents that have flowed so fast in the opposite direction these past ten years or so. In some instances the fidelity to cubism goes so far as to render an artist's work nothing more than a series of pastiches—of Picasso or Gris or Braque, as the case may be. In other instances cubism is a constricting influence that rationalizes the artist's failure to exert his temperament and search his emotions—which is to misuse cubism, for it was originally and above all a vehicle of emotion. Today cubism remains a creative discipline, a force infusing style into the works of those—and especially those—who seek expression primarily. It is a means, not of inhibiting emotion, but of controlling and so exploiting it.

The three Americans and the one Englishman whose work particularly impressed me at this show represent at least two or three different inflections or expansions of the cubist tradition. Nell Blaine develops out of cubism by way of a purifying process leading through Hans Arp—whose own intention, however, was to depurify and "poeticize" post-cubist art; Fannie Hillsmith goes in the opposite direction, with the help of Klee; similarly, Maurice Golubov; while the English artist Ben Nicholson, who is a guest exhibitor, seems to go toward Mondrian—but only seems: for Nicholson's art, whatever surface suggestion there may be of severity and renunciation in its precise circles and strict and not so strict rectangles, aims at a maximum of "poetry" achieved by a minimum of means, not at a purification or rationalization of the plastic elements. That Nicholson's work should be taken for cold and formal is the result only of many people's failure to look at it without preconceptions. The most that can be said to extenuate this misunderstanding is that Nicholson is no colorist and succeeds best in conveying his emotion when he confines himself to monochrome.

One of the master artists of our time and the first to put cubism into sculpture, Jacques Lipchitz, is having his second show in this country (at the Buchholz Gallery, through April 20). There is not the space here, nor are there enough of his works in this country, to go into Lipchitz's case exhaustively. It is obvious, however, that in the last six or seven years he has been steadily shifting away from his former premises toward a newfangled kind of baroque. This is an attempt to answer the mood of the times, which proclaims its impatience with such serenity as cubism seems to imply. Having cast cubism off, Lipchitz now gives free vent to a bombast and a badness of taste that have always been latent in his art.

The distance he has gone in this respect is revealed by the difference between the semi-cubist figure in iron executed in the twenties and in the Museum of Modern Art's possession for years, and the bronze figure that the same museum has recently added to its permanent collection. The former piece, whose title I forget, is perhaps one of the greatest works of sculpture produced in our time, combining a paradoxical monolithic compactness with the modern harmony of its repeated and varied hollow circular forms. The later piece is also constructed of circular—or rather, round, bulbous—forms, but their repetition and mass achieve only a declamatory, overinflated effect, a kind of academicism that tries to conceal itself by exaggerated gestures.

Most of the larger pieces of Lipchitz's present show suffer in a similar way. Often the sculptor plays traitor to his own baroque aspirations—which aim at a denial of the laws of gravity and the translation into airy flight of the heaviest materials—by assigning too much mass to the lower portions of his figures. The piece called "The Rescue," for instance, would have been saved had the tubular forms at its base been radically attenuated.

Yet for all this Lipchitz remains a genius. As evidence, there are, first, the small bronze "sketches" that are far superior to the larger works for which they were prepared, moving as they do with a rhythm and spontaneity which disappear in the final result under infelicitous coloring, over-thumbed textures, and over-emphatic simplifications; second, the tempera drawings, whose uniform excellence leads to the suspicion that Lipchitz's present difficulties may come from the fact that most of his ideas have recently tended to be more

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pictorial than sculptural; third, a large, extravagant, hysterical, impossibly elaborated *cire-perdue* bronze called "The Prayer," which seems like an overcrowded compendium of all the representations ever made of fertility deities. This statue, despite the excess of deliberate and imperious bad taste, or perhaps just because of that excess, has something of greatness about it. In overcoming its own defects it offers even more convincing proof of Lipchitz's creative vitality than the more integrated, balanced, and perfect masterpieces of his past.

Obviously, Lipchitz wants to do more than create beautiful works of art; he intends to realize himself completely in his sculpture, no matter what the cost. Thus he at least places us in the presence of a temperament, and where a real temperament is present, masterpieces will come sooner or later, translating and transcending the bad taste. It might be said that bad taste is often indispensable to great art, that without losses there can be no gains, and that the more one is willing to risk losing the more one stands the chance of winning. Like Courbet, who labored similarly under the handicap of a lumpy touch and bad judgment, Lipchitz stakes all on the strength of his temperament.

It is possible to accuse the painter Jackson Pollock, too, of bad taste; but it would be wrong, for what is thought to be Pollock's bad taste is in reality simply his willingness to be ugly in terms of contemporary taste. In the course of time this ugliness will become a new standard of beauty. Besides, Pollock submits to a habit of discipline derived from cubism; and even as he goes away from cubism he carries with him the unity of style with which it endowed him when in the beginning he put himself under its influence. Thus Pollock's superiority to his contemporaries in this country lies in his ability to create a genuinely violent and extravagant art without losing stylistic control. His emotion starts out pictorially; it does not have to be castrated and translated in order to be put into a picture.

Pollock's third show in as many years (at Art of This Century, through April 20) contains nothing to equal the two large canvases, "Totem I" and "Totem II," that he exhibited last year. But it is still sufficient—for all its divagations and weaknesses, especially in the gouaches—to show him as the most original contemporary easel-painter under forty. What may at first sight seem crowded and repetitious reveals on second sight an infinity of dramatic movement and variety. One has to learn Pollock's idiom to realize its flexibility. And it is precisely because I am, in general, still learning from Pollock that I hesitate to attempt a more thorough analysis of his art.

Music

B. H. HAGGIN

A GREAT pianist has days when he rises above his best, and others when he falls below it; but the normal range of such variation is far exceeded by the extremes of good and bad in Schnabel's playing. And what is difficult to understand is how a man capable of the playing—relaxed, unforced, the phrases coming out lovely in sound and miraculous in inflection and contour—that Schnabel did in his recent performances of concertos with orchestras can be guilty of the over-projection, the distortion of sound and shape in his performance of Schubert's D major Sonata at the Frick Collection (to say nothing of the erratic tempos and rhythm, the slovenly execution in the performances of the Schubert Impromptus; to say something, however, of the further distortion introduced by the badly unbalanced radio transmission, and of WNYC's cutting off the Schubert sonata in the finale).

In the concerto performances Schnabel played first with the entire New York Philharmonic under Rodzinski in Mozart's K. 488; and later with about half of that orchestra, conducted as the New York Chamber Orchestra by F. Charles Adler, in Mozart's K. 491, Bach's Brandenburg No. 5, and Beethoven's Second. The later performances provided the additional pleasure of hearing Schnabel's playing in orchestral contexts that were beautifully integrated with it; and the refinement of the orchestral execution and sonority, not only in the piano concertos but in K. P. E. Bach's D major Concerto for orchestra alone, made it difficult to believe I was hearing the Philharmonic. Also, as I listened to the superb performance of the slow movement of the Brandenburg No. 5 by Schnabel, Corigliano, and Wummer, I was aware of hearing the sound of the piano where I should have been hearing the sound of the harpsichord; but I was aware also of the extraordinary effectiveness of Schnabel's inflection of the clavier phrases, with its gradations of continuous tone that were possible only on the piano. I should add that the effectiveness of the performance of this movement did not make me care more for the music; also that the *Allegro* movements, taken at unusually fast tempos, may have been effectively performed for some listeners, but were often confused as they reached me in row P on the side. Nor did the fine performance of Beethoven's Second make that work more interesting to me. The music of the evening, as far as I was concerned, was the beautiful concerto of K. P. E. Bach, particularly its slow movement; and that succession of marvels, the K. 491 of Mozart.

Schnabel contributed more to the occasion than just his playing: the fact that Mozart left no cadenzas for K. 491 gave Schnabel an excuse for some of those interpolations of his own with which he insists on proving to us that he is aware of living at the same time as Schönberg, and to which our answer is that we are convinced and now will he be merciful and not rub it in. The Ger-

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man-speaking contingent in the audience —exercising the privilege and responsibility of its superiority in musical understanding, general culture, and manners—contributed to the music a counterpoint of running comment on everything that happened. And Victor contributed humor with this advertisement: "Artur Schnabel records exclusively for RCA Victor. . . . Keep informed of new Schnabel recordings through your RCA dealer." Don't bother the poor dealer, who has enough troubles already; but by all means inquire of Victor's artist and repertoire division; and let me know what it tells you about those new Schnabel recordings.

As for the earlier performance of Mozart's K. 488 at a Sunday afternoon Philharmonic concert, I suggest to Schnabel, who has spoken and acted against many practices of the musical world, that he defy the convention which allows a conductor to have a score before him to glance at occasionally, but not a pianist. I suggest this because of the several lapses of memory that have caused breakdowns in Schnabel's performances in the last few years—the latest being the one that caused him to jump several pages ahead of the orchestra in the finale of K. 488. This was the more regrettable because of his fine playing in the fast movements, except for his occasional sloppy execution of some of the passage-work; and his wonderful playing in the slow movement, where there was absolute perfection.

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LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

On Reinhold Niebuhr's "Myth"

A Time for Education

Dear Sirs: I am unable to follow the logic of Reinhold Niebuhr's article on The Myth of World Government in *The Nation* of March 16. While admitting that the UNO is not strong enough to prevent future wars, he blasts the "immaturity" of the "idealists" who consider world government possible. While admitting the fact that national sovereignty imperils peace, he decries those who object to the veto power of the Security Council.

His whole argument hinges, of course, on the statement that the nations of the world are not ready for world federation—though he admits that they are strongly interdependent economically. He overlooks the fact that most of the nations, with the exception of Russia and the United States, have shown themselves eager for a stronger union than the UNO, as was exhibited by the statements of Bevin and Attlee. Admitting then that the United States and Russia are not ready, instead of bending all his efforts toward bringing about the education of these nations, he spends his time undermining the labors of those who are trying to bring about this education.

CORINNE KATZ,
Wellesley Committee for Federal World Government

Wellesley, Mass., March 18

Unity from the Battlefield

Dear Sirs: Dr. Niebuhr has stated in his argument against world government that the universal community possesses nothing to create the consciousness of "we." This consciousness, he claims, is necessary before world government can have a reasonable chance of success. He has overlooked a very obvious and pertinent fact. We who fought this war side by side recognized our mutual dependence on the battlefield. We have not forgotten it. We are anxious to work in peace and harmony with our fellow-veterans from all countries.

There was a meeting in San Francisco at the time of the UNO conference whose significance Dr. Niebuhr may have overlooked. It was a meeting of the veterans of seventeen countries whose avowed purpose was the creation of an international league of veterans to provide mass support for the UNO, to ameliorate the social and economic causes of war, and to spread the idea of justice and liberty throughout the world.

While it is true that the league is still in the formative stage and that its representative in this country, the American Veterans' Committee, is not powerful, nevertheless, this league contains within it the germ of unity that Dr. Niebuhr was unable to find.

MURRAY L. SILBERSTEIN

New York, March 19

Action Requires Decision

Dear Sirs: I enjoyed Reinhold Niebuhr's article The Myth of World Government. However, I think it important to view the article in its proper perspective as a footnote or marginal comment rather than a main argument. Otherwise it may divert one's mind from the essential task.

Accepting Dr. Niebuhr's thesis that an international order built on moral compulsion is more durable and complete than an order constructed with legal and constitutional instruments, I'm afraid it is not possible to act on those terms.

Constitutional methods have this advantage, that they present a framework within which all the elements which make for world community may assert themselves. In my own conception an important place is assigned to judicial determination of "aggression" and "sovereignty." We must realize that action requires decision, and I see no reason why we should not sacrifice the fiction of complete understanding to a strong and hopeful program.

SOLON CHADWICK REED

New Haven, Conn., March 23

The Economic Angle

Dear Sirs: It would scarcely seem possible to treat the subject of world government without mention of the word "economic"; yet with the exception of a single tangential sentence, that is precisely what Reinhold Niebuhr has contrived. With substantial reason Mr. Niebuhr charges American liberals with immaturity for trying to solve global problems in "purely logical and constitutional terms." He then proceeds to establish his own claim to that character-

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istic by attempting to explode their theories on purely moral and social grounds. . . .

The cohesion of a national community is different from that of a world community chiefly because the former has a unity of economic character and purpose whereas the latter is composed either of conflicting imperialisms or of imperialisms plus one planned-economy state. However, every national community is as strong as its weakest economic link; and the time must come when an increasing number of nations find that link snapped and a new international economy in urgent order. The sole solution lies in the ultimate establishment of world government by peoples who have arrived at the conclusion that the most desirable, equitable, and mutually advantageous state is that of an international socialism.

RICHARD EVERETT

Union City, N. J., March 25

We Need Not Give Up Yet

Dear Sirs: Because his opinions are respected and carry weight with many it is particularly important that when Reinhold Niebuhr is mistaken the fact should be clearly and conclusively demonstrated. Mr. Niebuhr's errors are as dangerous as his intellectual achievements of the past are great. . . .

It appears that "the fear of mutual destruction easily degenerates into fear of a particular foe." That is exactly the point. As long as a number of independent nations continue to exist with modern weapons at their disposal, fear of the possibility of attack will poison all relations and lead them into an armaments race from which there is no escape but war. Only through the establishment of a world government capable of monopolizing the weapons of mass destruction and prohibiting them to the member nations can the fear of mutual destruction triumph over the fear of particular foes.

The varieties of languages, customs, religions, and institutions in the world today are not incontrovertible evidence that the world cannot be united under one government. On the contrary, the trend of events is evidence that though the vast majority of men ardently wish to live at peace together, they are forced into war by the institutions under which they live. The problem is not the creation of greater will toward unity; it is the eradication of the condition of anarchy implicit in the existence of a number of sovereign nations. . . .

It may be that the change in established ways of thinking is too great to be worked within the limited period of grace. It may prove to be impossible, as Mr. Niebuhr contends. But we need not reach that despairing conclusion until we have tried and failed.

CORD MEYER, JR.

Cambridge, Mass., March 23

Nothing Constructive

Dear Sirs: Mr. Niebuhr's article is discouraging to say the least. It is very easy to emphasize the tremendous difficulties in the way of a world state; but he offers nothing constructive to solve the problem of human safety.

The general public needs to be thoroughly awakened to the danger, and this might be possible if our editors and publicists set about it. I would concede to Mr. Niebuhr that a world government might be tyrannical. Dr. Einstein feels so, too, but he thinks that even such an eventuality would be preferable to another war. . . .

THAD W. RIKER

Austin, Tex., March 29

Optimism Is Needed

Dear Sirs: I wish to protest with the greatest energy against the spirit of defeatism which pervades Mr. Niebuhr's article. In spite of his claiming that he does not want to "introduce a mood of defeatism," that is exactly what he did by writing the way he did about the world-government idea. . . .

I am ready to admit that the author expresses some positive ideas and makes two useful suggestions, but this does not excuse the weakness of the article considered as a whole. The present world certainly has no need of being told by professors of "Christian ethics" that it is incurable. On the contrary, it needs all the intelligent and realistic optimism of those who want to fight avoidable evils. . . .

M. E. MAMBONEY

New York, March 23

Minorities Initiate Progress

Dear Sirs: In case you haven't received enough protests about Reinhold Niebuhr's defeatist article, here is another. . . . Niebuhr's reasoning is both philosophically and historically unsound; historically because every progress toward a more complete order was initiated by "laws" created by a minority of progressive, advanced, enlightened men. Our own constitution was created that way, whatever the spark may have been. Dr. Niebuhr's reasons—inherent social unity in national or imperial communities as against the lack of a common denominator in the universal community—were advanced in exactly the same unphilosophical way by the city-states of medieval Europe before they were integrated into the higher sovereignty of the nation-state. . . .

ROBERT A. MEYER

New York, March 19

To the dissenting readers above, as well as to the many others whose letters were omitted for lack of space, the editors recommend "The Necessity of World Government" by Albert Guérard, a reply to Dr. Niebuhr, in next week's issue.

Next Week in the Spring Book Number

DREISER AND HIS CRITICS
An Essay by Lionell Trilling

TWO POEMS by Randall Jarrell

"EDUCATION FOR THE MODERN MAN"
By SIDNEY HOOK • *Reviewed by Irwin Edman*

"THE FIRST FREEDOM"
By MORRIS ERNST • *Reviewed by Henry Steele Commager*

Other Reviews by Clement Greenberg, Morton Dauwen Zabel, Rolfe Humphries, Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., Ralph Bates.

NOTES BY THE WAY
By MARGARET MARSHALL

FICTION IN REVIEW
By DIANA TRILLING

DRAMA
By JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

MUSIC
By B. H. HAGGIN

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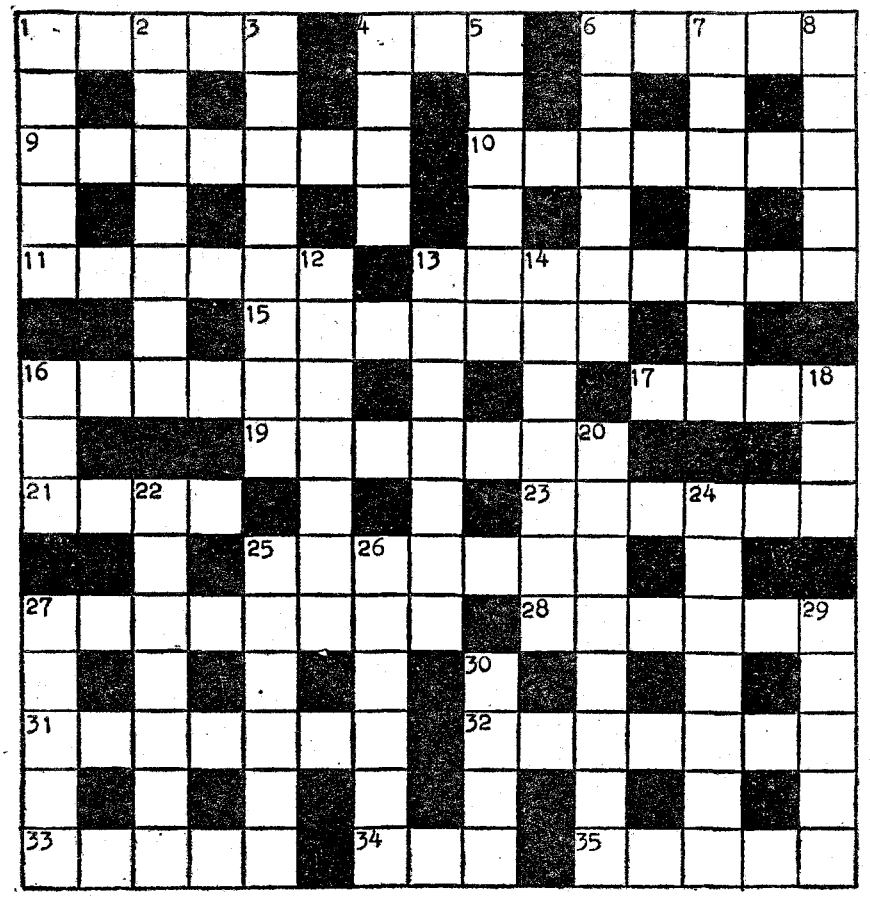
Crossword Puzzle No. 156

By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

1 Never goes as fast as the money you put on it
4 Don't put anything smaller than your elbow in this
6 Alleviate
9 Time taken at the meeting
10 His creator was no mean author
11 The king's business
13 Confirmed
15 Greeted with a few salvos, perhaps
16 Weaver in *Midsummer Night's Dream* who fancies he can do everything, and do it better than anyone else
17 "Hail to thee, blithe spirit! Bird, thou never ----"
19 Quiet, yet in a fluster
21 A former President
23 Half a peck, and it's nearly all gone!
25 The Ford of France
27 The congregation's reply to the parson
28 Seduce (anag.)
31 A whippersnapper
32 An interior decorator
33 Forget it, Ethel!
34 British bishopric
35 Filthy stuff, the Apostle Paul called it

DOWN

1 "Knew he had no sense of -----, because he laughed at everything"
2 A curl
3 Muscle which straightens one out
4 Her curiosity caused Lohengrin to leave her
5 Reddish-brown, though not the color you paint the town
6 Were aid far one might feel this
7 Appearance of one whom Daniel might have counted
8 Give ground
12 French general succeeded by Weygand in 1940
13 A baldpate of the feathered world
14 "Any other country but his own" looks good to him
16 It's half the battle
18 Just half Tony Galento's weight
20 Bird that might prove handy on disembarkation
22 Blackshirt
24 Conical (anag.)
25 If you haven't a bean you can't get the drink, of course
26 African fly which disseminates the sleeping-sickness parasite
27 It could be lower, but not much
29 Waiters and tennis players must know how to
30 Nobody's sweetheart is this

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 155

ACROSS:—1 REDDISH; 5 LONG BOW; 9 INSIDER; 10 CAMPION; 11 TEE; 13 AFRICA; 15 HUNGER; 16 ELEGIES; 17 EAST; 19 STEW; 20 IRON HORSE; 21 DAME; 23 AWED; 26 PELLEAS; 28 WAGNER; 29 YORICK; 30 ASS; 32 EYEFLAP; 33 PARAPET; 34 SCOUTED; 35 DOLORES.

DOWN:—1 RUINATE; 2 DESERTS; 3 INDUCE; 4 HART; 5 LACE; 6 NIMBUS; 7 BRIDGET; 8 WINDROW; 12 EGGSHELLS; 14 ALMONER; 15 HEARSAY; 18 TIE; 19 SEA; 21 DOWSERS; 22 MAGNETO; 24 WHISPER; 25 DAKOTAS; 26 PELLET; 27 SORREL; 30 APED; 31 SPUD.

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